RACE and the ATLANTA COTTON STATES EXPOSITION of 1895

VISIT…

Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895

Georgia Southern University
Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lecture Series
NO. 16

RACE *and the* ATLANTA COTTON STATES EXPOSITION *of* 1895

Theda Perdue

The University of Georgia Press
Athens & London

© 2010 by the University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602
www.ugapress.org
All rights reserved
Designed by Walton Harris
Set in Garamond Premier Pro

Printed digitally in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Perdue, Theda, 1949–
Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895 / Theda Perdue.
p. cm. — (Georgia Southern University Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt lecture series ; no. 16)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-3402-8 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-3402-2 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. Southern States — Race relations — History — 19th century. 2. Racism — Southern States — History — 19th century. 3. Cotton States Exposition (1895 : Atlanta, Ga.)
4. African Americans — Southern States — History — 19th century. 5. Indians of North America — Southern States — History — 19th century. 6. Marginality, Social — Southern States — History — 19th century. 7. Whites — Southern States — History — 19th century. 8. Globalization — Social aspects — Southern States — History — 19th century.
9. Imperialism — Social aspects — Southern States — History — 19th century. 10. United States — Territorial expansion. I. Title.
F220.A1P47 2010
305.800975'0904 — dc22 2009022171

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data available

ISBN for this digital edition: 978-0-8203-4201-6

For Townsend Ludington

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

FOREWORD
by Alan C. Downs and Anastatia Hodgens Sims *ix*

PREFACE *xiii*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS *xv*

INTRODUCTION *1*

CHAPTER ONE
Beyond the "Atlanta Compromise" *7*

CHAPTER TWO
Vanishing Indians *53*

CHAPTER THREE
The Global South *96*

EPILOGUE *139*

APPENDIX
Teaching the Cotton States Exposition *141*

NOTES *143*

INDEX *173*

This page intentionally left blank

FOREWORD

On October 14 and 15, 2008, the Department of History at Georgia Southern University hosted the Eighteenth Annual Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lecture Series. The speaker was Theda Perdue, Atlanta Distinguished Professor of Southern Culture at the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill. Taken together, Professor Perdue's lectures addressed the theme of race relations and the 1895 Cotton States Exposition and were among the most memorable in the history of the Averitt Lecture Series. The essays presented in this volume are expanded versions of those lectures.

With graceful prose and well-chosen illustrations, Professor Perdue took the audience on a tour of the Cotton States Exposition as seen through the eyes of individuals and groups that were marginalized by the fair's organizers. We heard Booker T. Washington outline what would become known as the "Atlanta Compromise," then listened to the debate his speech sparked in the black community. We walked through the building devoted to the achievements of African Americans and viewed exhibits that countered prevailing white orthodoxy on race relations and the meaning of southern history. We examined American Indian artifacts gathered by the Smithsonian Institution, watched Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show, and met the Sioux, whose presence in an Indian village constructed on the midway underscored the absence from the fair of the Cherokees who had once lived on Georgia soil. We strolled through other ethnographic villages — Chinese, Mexican, Egyptian — as Professor Perdue took us behind the scenes to reveal the pain and tragedy experienced by men and women who were put on display as specimens of exotic cultures.

The Cotton States Exposition of 1895 encapsulates a critical moment in history, as white southerners codified racial discrimination into law and began contemplating the expansion of U.S. power and influence overseas. The businessmen and politicians who planned and promoted the fair hoped to showcase their vision of a New South; most exhibits reflected their assumptions about race and about the South's role in the world. However, as Professor Perdue deftly demonstrates, contrasting interpretations of the region's past and alternative plans for its future could also be found on the fairgrounds.

Many people need to be thanked for their help and support in making this lecture series possible. First and foremost is the late Dr. Jack Averitt, who, along with his wife, Addie, established the series to enrich the academic and cultural life of Georgia Southern University and the community at large. Thanks to the Averitts' generosity, Dr. Perdue joins a distinguished group of previous speakers — Eugene D. Genovese, James Olney, George B. Tindall, Tony Tanner, Samuel S. Hill, Barbara Hardy, Catherine Clinton, Houston H. Baker Jr., Betty Wood, Don Doyle, Russ McDonald, David Goldfield, Gerald Bruns, Anne J. Bailey, Andrea Lunsford, Peter Coclanis, and Alfred Bendixen — who have made the series such a success since its endowment in 1990.

The faculty and administration of Georgia Southern University have provided enthusiastic support for the Averitt lectures since their inception. Thanks for the 2008 series go to Bruce Grube, university president; Linda Bleicken, provost; Sue Moore, interim dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences; and Bill Allison, chair of the History Department; they continue the long tradition of recognizing the importance of the series to the university and the community. Graduate students from the Department of History served as ushers during the lectures and performed a variety of duties throughout the two-day event. Derek Krissoff of the University of Georgia Press offered invaluable assistance during

the publication process. Dr. Lisa Denmark, a member of the Averitt Lecture Series Committee, worked tirelessly to ensure the success of the 2008 series. Finally, special thanks go to Fran Aultman and Joyce Baldwin, the History Department secretaries who put aside their normal duties to assist diligently with promoting the lectures.

— Alan C. Downs and Anastatia Hodgens Sims
Cochairs, Averitt Lecture Series Committee

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

In the 1990s, when I lived in Lexington, Kentucky, I went once a month to a weekend antique sale in a defunct tobacco barn. One day I spied a small brown cube in a box of odds and ends marked "$10." It was a tiny cotton bale labeled "Souvenir Cotton States and International Exposition Atlanta Ga., 1895." I knew that this was a memento from a pivotal event in the history of the South. I bought it and placed it in the china cabinet next to my grandmother's crystal.

The cotton bale moved with me to North Carolina and reoccupied its space alongside the family heirlooms. As the years have passed, it has assumed a more central role in my intellectual odyssey than its neighbors on the shelf, but like the other items it too speaks to my personal history. I grew up in rural Georgia at the end of the period that the Cotton States Exposition ushered in. In the 1950s the races were still "as separate as the fingers," but change was coming. My first memory of events beyond my family was *Brown v. Board of Education,* handed down in 1954, the year before I began school. The Supreme Court decision must have been the subject of conversation in my household because I remember asking my mother what it meant. She assured me that all it amounted to was that the next year I might be going to school with the daughter of our black maid. In one of my fondest memories of my mother, she said, "That is all right with you, isn't it?" The implication that it was all right with her made it all right with me.

But I also remember that the maid, Lillie Ann Clements, worked for my mother for a dollar a day and had to take her children out of school during cotton-picking season so they could earn enough

to make it through the winter. That memory is painful, particularly because, for Lillie Ann, her daughter, and other black southerners, change was a long time in coming. Thirteen years after *Brown,* I graduated in an all-white class, having never attended school with an African American.

As I reflected on the small cotton bale, it became emblematic of my past. The performance of race that it commemorated was one I grew up with — segregation, white supremacy, black oppression. The race relations of my childhood had crystallized more than a half-century earlier at the Cotton States Exposition, but the struggle that was taking place when I left home in 1967 to attend college in Atlanta pointed me and other Americans, black and white, toward a different future, one for which I am deeply grateful. Piedmont Park, site of the Cotton States Exposition, had become a venue for young people like me who challenged racism, imperialism, and social conventions. As I hold the cotton bale in my hand on the eve of the inauguration of the nation's forty-fourth president, I marvel not so much at the past it represents as the future its original owner never could have imagined.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was thrilled when Alan Downs invited me to present the eighteenth annual Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lectures at Georgia Southern University. Alan and the members of the lecture committee, Anastatia Sims and Lisa Denmark, gave me an opportunity to explore race in the New South in a narrowly focused way that eases me into a broader study on Indians in the segregated South. The committee's hospitality, thoughtful comments, and good company cannot be matched. Even before Alan issued his invitation, I had begun to do research on Indians at the Cotton States Exposition and other southern worlds fairs. Conversations with Lee Baker at the National Humanities Center, where we both held fellowships in 2003–4, piqued my interest, and I read the *Atlanta Constitution* and other newspapers during my tenure there. I appreciate the fellowship that gave me the time to pursue new ideas, the colleagues who challenged me to think imaginatively about the South, and the librarians who managed to obtain everything I needed to get started on this project. I began writing about the Cotton States Exposition at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center, the perfect place to reflect on ideas. I am indebted to the foundation as well as the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, which funded the larger project but made it possible for me to work in the Washington area depositories that provided material for these essays. Research funds attached to my position as Atlanta Professor, a chair endowed by University of North Carolina alumni in the Atlanta area, underwrote research and permissions. I would like to thank Meg O'Sullivan, Robin Payne, Mikaela Adams, Sherine El-Toukhy, and

David Silkenat for helping me with research and listening to countless anecdotes about the Cotton States Exposition with good humor. I thank James C. Cobb, Glen Eskew, Reginald Hildebrand, Clara Sue Kidwell, Robert J. Norrell, and Heather Williams for taking time to critique parts of this work. Mikaela Adams, Jonathan Hancock, Cecelia Moore, Julie Reed, and Katy Smith read chapter 2 in my graduate research seminar on Indian history, and I appreciate their comments. Students in my First Year Seminar also played a role, one that is acknowledged in the appendix. My friend Anna Smith not only accompanied me to the lectures but she also braved rattlesnakes and deer hunters to walk with me through the Georgia woods to an old Lumbee Indian cemetery at Adabelle. Michael Green traipsed over Piedmont Park with me, accompanied me to archives, plowed through boxes in a largely fruitless search of the voluminous Raoul family papers, read the manuscript several times, and offered suggestions that were almost as valuable as his love and support. Copy editor Polly Kummel not only improved this book considerably, but she also made editing fun. The final person I want to thank is Townsend Ludington, who made only an indirect contribution to this particular work. But as chair of American Studies and advocate for American Indians, Towny made it possible for me to join the faculty of the University of North Carolina more than a decade ago as a professor of history. I have loved almost every minute of my time here. Had I not come to the University of North Carolina or become associated with American Studies, where I hold a joint appointment, I would not have looked at the Cotton States Exposition in quite the same way. So this little book is for Towny.

Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1895 Atlanta, Georgia, hosted the Cotton States and International Exposition, a world's fair intended to encourage sectional reconciliation, attract northern capital, and stimulate international trade.[1] Like the 1876 U.S. centennial celebration in Philadelphia and the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the Cotton States Exposition encapsulated the values of the organizers and constructed a particular view of the world. Remembered today primarily for the "Atlanta Compromise" speech of Booker T. Washington, the exposition taught other racial lessons. From the Dahomey and Chinese villages on the midway to the Smithsonian's ethnographic exhibits and Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, the exposition categorized the world by race and provided a template that white organizers believed should structure race relations both nationally and internationally. These three essays, expanded versions of the Averitt Lectures delivered at Georgia Southern University in October 2008, examine the exposition's racial message and responses to it.

The Cotton States Exposition took place at the midpoint of a crucial decade in the history of the South and the nation. In the 1890s the final "battle" of the Indian wars took place at Wounded Knee, the census confirmed the closing of the frontier, southern states rewrote constitutions disfranchising African Americans, the Supreme Court decided that racial segregation was constitutional, and the United States embarked on overseas expansion in the Spanish American War. These events reflected a construction of race that few white Americans would have seen as anything other

than scientifically rational, morally justifiable, imminently practical, and even divinely ordained. For nonwhite Americans the emerging racial order was not so defensible, yet white power made resistance difficult and dangerous. The Cotton States Exposition provides an opportunity to explore how elite whites who organized the event constructed race and how the people they denigrated and stereotyped resisted that construction.

The Columbian Exposition in Chicago and a cotton exposition in Waco, Texas, inspired Atlanta businessmen to hold their own exposition. Like many southerners they thought that Chicago had shortchanged the South, and the Waco exposition provided a theme — cotton — that linked the Old South and the New. As the ideological heirs of Henry Grady, the *Atlanta Constitution* editor who had been a leading booster of the New South until his death in 1889, these men had little interest in cotton merely as a staple crop. Instead, they saw cotton as the foundation of a diversified economy that included textile mills and other industries. They envisioned capital flowing south and a commercial empire that extended to Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Two earlier Atlanta expositions in 1881 and 1887 had demonstrated that such events brought positive publicity and a boost to the local economy, but the organizers intended for this exposition to benefit the entire region and secure for their city a reputation as the South's business center. The exposition, however, was not a municipal project. The organizers formed an exposition company, invested their own money, and sold corporate bonds. When bankruptcy threatened during the fair, they invested further in their fragile company with the understanding that financial rewards from the exposition would not be immediate.

The region's progress provided a theme for the exposition, but organizers understood that progress rested on solving the "race problem." Racial slavery had shaped the region's identity, and the failure of Reconstruction had left a legacy of white racism and black vulnerability. Whites used violence and intimidation against African

Americans to secure white economic and political power. The chaos that resulted was anathema to the order that late nineteenth-century Americans craved and modernity promised.[2] However industrialized the South might be, no one could take seriously the region's claim to progress and modernity until it imposed social order. The Cotton States Exposition promoted segregation as the foundation for racial harmony, and southerners took heart from Booker T. Washington's opening day speech, which seemed to embrace segregation as progressive. Exhibits in the separate Negro Building and congresses held in conjunction with the exposition, however, suggested that many African Americans were not willing to accept the subservient position to which white supremacists sought to relegate them. Chapter 1, "Beyond the 'Atlanta Compromise,'" explores the role of African Americans in the Cotton States Exposition as they struggled for equal access to the modern world celebrated by the fair.

The nation accepted the South's solution to the "race problem" because few Americans could envision a United States without African Americans, but virtually everyone believed that the days of American Indians were numbered. Politicians, intellectuals, and reformers assured Americans that this was so. Chapter 2, "Vanishing Indians," focuses on Native people, who presumably had no place in the modern United States except as subjects for study or performers in sideshow attractions. In an 1893 address to the American Historical Association, which was meeting at the Columbian Exposition, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner had examined the "nationalizing tendency" of the frontier. The 1890 census had revealed the closing of the frontier, which Turner thought had shaped American culture and provided a dividing line between "savagery and civilization." By 1890 all of the United States was on the civilized side of the line, but the long existence of the frontier accounted for the nation's unique character and its end raised troubling questions.[3] The implications of this demographic event for

white Americans interested Turner, but the closing of the frontier had far more serious implications for Native Americans. The conquest of the West united North and South: southerners fought in the Indian wars that ended in 1890 and swelled the ranks of the land runs that took place on land formerly belonging to Indians. Southerners generally viewed American Indians as a national problem, not one that concerned their region directly, since they believed Indians had vanished long ago from the South. Few acknowledged the Native people in their midst, people who suggested that Indians were not as likely to disappear as most Americans thought.

The Cotton States Exposition portrayed African Americans as a southern problem that the region had addressed and Native Americans as a national problem that southerners joined other Americans in solving. Labor and land were the payoff. The world presented a third challenge, and the South intended to stake its claim to whatever riches lay beyond the borders of the United States. Chapter 3, "The Global South," explores how the Cotton States Exposition envisioned a racialized world. The promotion of foreign trade, especially with Latin America, was a major objective of the Cotton States Exposition. Official foreign exhibits were few, but on the midway southerners, not unlike fairgoers in other regions, had an opportunity to go global with their racism. Like many other native-born Americans, southerners viewed foreigners with considerable hostility. Ethnographic villages at the fair presented other peoples "not as visitors, trying to adapt themselves to the habits of a strange land, but in the garb and following the customs of their native clime."[4] As a result these exhibits tended to stereotype and essentialize people from around the world. Such attitudes paved the way for the Spanish American War in 1898 and the acquisition of an overseas empire that, at the end of the decade, included Cuba and the Philippines.

Race is at the heart of all three chapters. Race is not a biological reality but a cultural construction. Humans create race when they

ascribe meaning to biological differences, and that meaning sanctions exploitation and oppression. The Cotton States Exposition presented the racial superiority of native-born whites and their determination to bring all people of color under the control of whites, both at home and abroad.

These three chapters are not a history of race, but they focus on the performance of race in a particular place for a period of less than four months. Narrowing our gaze enables us to sharpen our focus. We can examine exhibits and pronouncements from the United States, foreign governments, states and locales, exposition officials, commercial establishments, and private individuals that reflected and shaped attitudes about race. We can look closely at the people who assembled exhibits and those who were represented in them. We can listen to their words and view their handiwork. In the process we can give agency to the African Americans who exhibited at, spoke to, and attended the Cotton States Exposition, the American Indians who were subjects of research and enacted their own "demise," and the entertainers from around the globe who presented an often demeaning view of their own cultures. They were not simply victims of racism and bigotry; they had a major role but little say at the Cotton States Exposition. To the extent that is possible with limited evidence, I have tried to give some of them a voice.

Although the only well-known scene from the Cotton States Exposition's racial drama is Booker T. Washington's address, several scholars, most notably Robert Rydell, have written more broadly about the fair.[5] In *All the World's a Fair,* Rydell used world's fairs held in the United States to explore the relationship between racism and empire building. The Cotton States Exposition was one of three southern world's fairs he examined, and *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895* builds on his scholarship and perceptive insights. The ways in which images of the "other" at world's fairs ideologically supported imperialism captured his attention and mine, but the narrower scope of this work has permitted me

to explore counterimages. The ultimate triumph of racism and imperialism is a familiar story; the ways in which individuals tried to subvert these forces is less well known but no less compelling. The subalterns at the Cotton States Exposition, the people largely without power, left few records, and their actions often must be filtered through the observations of the white elite organizers of the exposition. What little we can discern, however, dramatizes the human toll of racism and imperialism as well as the refusal of the less powerful simply to be buffeted by historical forces. That too is a story well worth telling.

CHAPTER ONE

BEYOND THE "ATLANTA COMPROMISE"

On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington made history. He sat on the auditorium stage for the opening ceremonies of the Cotton States and International Exposition. Washington was the only African American among the dignitaries assembled on the platform to inaugurate this celebration of southern progress, national unity, and international ambitions. With every seat occupied, the crowd stood in the aisles and gathered outside. The audience cheered as the platform party entered, but people quieted down when Victor Herbert picked up his baton and conducted the band in his composition "Salute to Atlanta." Episcopal Bishop Cleland K. Nelson offered an invocation, and Albert Howell, brother of the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* read Frank Stanton's patriotic "Ode to the Exposition." Then came the speeches. Charles A. Collier, president of the exposition, garnered enthusiastic applause for his remarks and a musical tribute that ended with "Dixie." Emma Thompson, president of the Board of Commissioners for the Woman's Building, followed. Then Rufus Bullock, Georgia's Reconstruction Republican governor who had redeemed himself in the eyes of Atlanta's elite sufficiently to serve as master of ceremonies for opening day, introduced Washington. With the late afternoon sun illuminating his face, Washington delivered the speech that has come to be known as the "Atlanta Compromise."

Washington's words and the significance they assumed have obliterated the historical memory of his predecessors at the podium, the speakers who came afterward, and virtually anything else about the Cotton States Exposition. He urged African Americans to forgo political rights and social equality and focus instead on industrial education and economic advancement. By doing so, he declared, they could join with white southerners in achieving regional progress. Raising his arm and stretching his fingers apart, Washington proclaimed: "In all things social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet, one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[1] According to an observer, "The multitude was in an uproar of enthusiasm." Governor Bullock rushed across the stage and shook the black man's hand as the racially segregated audience shouted its approval.[2] Both contemporaries and historians have debated whether the speech represented accommodation to white supremacy or a realistic response to the growing oppression of African Americans.[3] Washington's speech and the debate it engendered have obscured a much more complicated racial drama at the Cotton States Exposition, one that revealed not only the accomplishments of African Americans but also their struggle to define their place in the New South. The exposition laid bare the tension between the hopes of African Americans and the limits imposed by white supremacists.

Atlanta was the capital of the New South, a term that Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* in the 1880s, had popularized.[4] Rejecting nostalgia for antebellum plantations and slavery, Grady conceived of the New South as a region with a diversified economy that included commerce, industry, and railroads as well as agriculture. While supporting white supremacy, he wrote and spoke about racial harmony and national reunification, positions likely to attract northern investment.

Under the leadership of the probusiness politicians in Grady's circle, Atlanta boomed. Expositions in 1881 and 1887 attracted

thousands of visitors, including William Tecumseh Sherman. Investments and new residents also flowed into the city; in 1890 more than four hundred factories tallied $13 million in production. The first long-distance telephone lines connected Atlanta with Chicago that year, and soon the city installed a new water plant to pump and treat water from the Chattahoochee River, as well as a modern sewer system that, despite its advantages, did not entirely replace privies. By 1895 Atlanta had a population of seventy-five thousand, and within an eight-mile radius lived 200,000 people who could travel easily into the city by way of 125 miles of electric rail lines. In addition, seven long-distance railroads linked the city to the rest of the South and the nation.

The Georgia School of Technology, now Georgia Tech, opened its doors in 1888, and its engineering curriculum reflected the value Atlantans placed on practical, as opposed to classical, education. Football first came to Atlanta in 1892 when Auburn met the University of Georgia at Piedmont Park, a rivalry repeated at the Cotton States Exposition. The state capital had moved to Atlanta from Milledgeville in 1868 under the Republican administration of Governor Bullock, so the city was in the center of the hotly contested politics of the 1890s. Democrats, Republicans, and even Populists in Georgia, however, supported the exposition as a stimulus for the sluggish economy. The whole nation, and especially the South, was reeling from the panic of 1893, but Atlanta's leaders looked to a bright future for their city and region.[5]

At the time of the Civil War, Atlanta had only a minuscule free black population, but the reconstruction of the city after the war offered opportunities for black as well as white.[6] Many African Americans moved to the city, and by 1890 they constituted more than 40 percent of the population.[7] Black Atlantans created their own institutions. Even before the Civil War exclusively African American church congregations emerged, and the movement accelerated with emancipation and population growth. By the end of the

century more than twenty African American churches ministered to the community's spiritual needs, and Atlanta Baptist Seminary and Gammon Theological Seminary provided an educated ministry that preached racial uplift through hard work and moral behavior.

Education was a priority for black Atlantans. The Freedman's Bureau and African American churches organized schools during Reconstruction, and in 1872 Atlanta opened its first public schools for black children. By 1895 African American faculty, most of whom had graduated from Atlanta institutions, staffed these schools. Atlanta University (1865), Morehouse College (1867), and Clark College (1869) date from Reconstruction; Morris Brown College and Spelman College were founded in 1881. These colleges offered a liberal arts education rather than the industrial training that Washington implemented at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (1881), the Alabama college he headed. All these institutions sought to demonstrate African American intellectual equality and prepare their graduates for leadership roles.[8]

The African American community prospered. It included doctors, lawyers, dentists, undertakers, and skilled workers. Black Atlantans owned stores, restaurants, bars, and hotels, and entrepreneurs invested in banking, real estate, and insurance companies. In 1891 the taxable property of African Americans in Fulton County, of which Atlanta was the seat, totaled $1,265,360 and reportedly was increasing more rapidly than that of whites.[9] Despite the vibrancy of Atlanta's black community, however, ominous signs pointed to deteriorating race relations.

Reconstruction had brought citizenship rights to African Americans, but whites quickly found ways to subvert those rights. In Georgia Reconstruction was remarkably brief. In 1868 the legislature expelled its black members, and, although Congress mandated their reinstatement, African Americans never regained their political strength.[10] Two predominantly black wards managed to elect African Americans to the Atlanta City Council in 1870, but

a shift to citywide elections and a whites-only Democratic primary instituted in 1872 prevented a repeat of this victory. However difficult it was becoming, African Americans in Atlanta and across the South continued to exercise their right to vote, and in Atlanta the African American community fielded candidates in municipal elections, including a complete slate in 1890, but with little success.[11]

Well-to-do black Atlantans, whom the *Constitution* interviewed for an article on African American prosperity, acknowledged voting Republican for president, but they assured the journalist that they voted for Democrats locally, thereby precluding the supposed "Negro rule" of Reconstruction. The *Constitution* opined that "their politics will not operate against them as long as they behave themselves."[12] This barely veiled threat reflected white attempts to manipulate and curb African American voters, a move advanced by limited patronage and paternalism, increasingly restrictive voting requirements and poll taxes, economic coercion, and physical violence.

In the early 1890s a brief revival of the Republican Party in the South, and the strength of the Populist Party, with its message of class solidarity across racial lines, challenged the Democrats, and the Democrats used race even more overtly to unite white voters. In 1896 Democrats and Populists nominated William Jennings Bryan as the presidential candidate of both parties, the Populists scuttled their position on racial inclusion as they disintegrated, and Democrats became more virulently racist. Across the South race became a platform on which politicians rallied white voters, and the disfranchisement of blacks became a primary objective of state governments. In 1890 Mississippi had enacted a new constitution that erected a series of hurdles to voter registration that culminated in a literacy test. Other southern states followed suit, and by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, they had denied most African Americans the right to vote.[13]

In the 1890s the South also moved rapidly toward legal segrega-

tion. De facto segregation had long existed, but local customs often allowed leeway. Whites had demanded separate schools at the end of the Civil War, but during the next two decades in parts of the South, racial segregation was less rigid. In 1885 T. McCants Stewart, editor of the *New York Freeman,* traveled through Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, where he sat in railway cars and waiting rooms with whites, ate in restaurants with whites, drank in saloons with whites, and conversed pleasantly with whites while they rode, ate, and drank together. Elsewhere, including Atlanta, custom generally specified separate public accommodations, but segregation only gradually acquired the cloak of law. Initially, state legislatures mandated separate railway cars for blacks and whites — Georgia enacted such legislation in 1891 — and other provisions to legally separate the races followed.[14] The Cotton States Exposition coincided with the first wave of segregation legislation, and during the next two decades white southerners created a system of racial segregation that reached into virtually every facet of southern life.

The disfranchisement of African Americans and the segregation of the races was possible because South and North began to put the animosities of the Civil War behind them and reach a consensus on race. As the historian David W. Blight has phrased it, "the sections reconciled as the races divided."[15] The South convinced other Americans that freed people were making progress, and the United States abdicated responsibility for southern race relations. In order to win the contested presidential election of 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes agreed to withdraw the last federal troops from the South. In 1883 the Supreme Court paved the way for segregation by striking down the 1875 Civil Rights Act, which had guaranteed "the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement . . . to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude."[16]

And in 1896, the year following the Cotton States Exposition, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of "separate but equal" rail cars in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the sweeping decision that legalized the principle of segregation and stood until *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.[17] What constituted "equal" facilities remained vague, and implementation of "separate but equal" focused on "separate" and ignored "equal." African American children in Atlanta, for example, attended overcrowded schools in two shifts and ended their public education at the eighth grade. Their teachers, who were paid considerably less than white teachers, taught twice as many pupils in poorly maintained school buildings.[18]

A national consensus that blacks were inferior to whites permitted discrimination against people of color in the North and West as well as the South.[19] Popular culture portrayed African Americans in ways that justified their inferior status and the draconian measures whites took to "protect" themselves from blacks. In the 1890s minstrelsy was on the decline, but the decade marked the height of popularity for "coon songs." This genre, which was wildly popular among whites, fused ragtime rhythms with lyrics that depicted African Americans as buffoons. Beneath the humor lay a more threatening characterization of African Americans as immoral and violent. A line from "Ma Angeline: Greatest Coon Song of the Age" (1890), for example, went "Spects de coon gwine to hab a fight. Fo slew foot Johny Frazer, Hot stuff wid his razor, Dat coon will try to win ma Angeline." African Americans seemed, to many whites, to have degenerated since their emancipation, an attitude reinforced by social Darwinism.[20]

Federal actions and popular culture encouraged disfranchisement and segregation, whose purpose was to secure white power and make African Americans feel their powerlessness and presumed inferiority, but intimidation and violence accomplished those goals.[21] Beginning in the late 1880s, lynchings of African Americans increased dramatically. In 1889 in East Point, today the site of the

Atlanta airport, a mob lynched a teenage boy who allegedly had grabbed a white girl on her way home from school. When a local African American leader spoke out against the lynching, the mob invaded black neighborhoods, flogged at least fourteen men, and terrorized the African American community.[22] In the 1890s, the decade of the Cotton States Exposition, violence increased, and Georgia led the nation with at least 386 lynchings between 1889 and 1918. In 1894 twenty African Americans, including one resident of Atlanta, lost their lives to mob violence. By the time Booker T. Washington delivered his speech in September, Georgia had tallied at least eight lynchings in 1895, and in June a mob had lynched a black man in Washington's hometown of Tuskegee, Alabama.[23] That same summer an African American lawyer in Tuskegee nearly suffered the same fate. Shot in the leg, he attempted to take refuge at Washington's home, but, according to a widely published story, Washington turned him away. In reality Washington secretly helped arrange the man's transport out of town and his medical care, but few knew this, and Washington did not publicize his role in the escape.[24]

The *Atlanta Constitution,* a promoter of the Cotton States Exposition, purportedly opposed lynching, but the lurid stories of black crime, especially attacks on white women, under headlines like "A Devil's Deed," fanned racial violence.[25] Furthermore, many organizers of the exposition personally supported lynching, most famously, Rebecca Latimer Felton, who chaired the committee in charge of the Woman's Building. In 1897 Felton announced, "If it needs lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from ravening human beasts, then I say lynch a thousand a week, if necessary."[26] Given this climate, African American participation in the Cotton States Exposition is astonishing, but white southern leaders were determined to convince the nation that their policies had enabled freed people to progress and would ensure African American advancement.

White organizers initially seem not to have considered a specific role for blacks, despite criticism of the Chicago fair for its cursory and demeaning treatment of them, but the organizers responded positively to an African American initiative. Leaders of the black community approached white businessman Samuel Inman and proposed that the exposition "give prominence to an exhibit of the Negro race."[27] The *Atlanta Constitution* and Inman publicly championed the idea. Bishop Henry M. Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church wrote the *Constitution* to commend the organizers for promising African Americans a "prominent place" at the Cotton States Exposition in contrast to the Chicago fair, which "only tendered us the exalted position of taking care of the toilet rooms."[28] In March 1894 a delegation from the African American community met with the exposition committee to express its interest and offer its support. Rev. Edward Randolph Carter led the African American group. A graduate of Atlanta Baptist Seminary and pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, he had founded the Carter Home for the Aged and the Baptist Center for Wayward Youth. He campaigned for prohibition, advocated a liberal arts education for African American youths, and authored *The Black Side: A Partial History of the Business, Religious, and Educational Side of the Negro in Atlanta, Ga.* Carter assured the organizers that African Americans were willing to share what little "silver and gold" they had and to work diligently to make the exposition a "matchless success." Both Carter and Bishop Wesley J. Gaines of the A.M.E. Church, who followed him in speaking, articulated strong regional pride. Born in slavery, Gaines held a doctoral degree in divinity from Wilberforce University and had written a book on the history of African American Methodism. Gaines announced, "We want to show the people of this country that the colored people of the south are more progressive and more prosperous than the people of their race in any other section of the country."[29]

This sentiment corresponded precisely with the exposition's

theme, and the organizers "appointed a committee to take into consideration the suggestions of the colored men." The nature of the exhibit was not entirely settled until the next month, when exposition organizers "hastily" summoned three distinguished African American leaders to Washington to help them persuade Congress to provide a federal subsidy for the exposition. With only fifteen minutes' notice all three addressed the House Appropriations Committee.[30]

Their remarks give some indication of views among African American leaders in the South. Bishop Gaines, the first to speak, provided statistics on education and property ownership that demonstrated African American progress since slavery. He accused the Chicago world's fair of excluding black exhibits for fear of offending southern whites and laid the blame for tension between the races on politicians who "kept up an agitation and tried to estrange them." The presence of African Americans in the delegation suggested that such forces had failed. Assuming the inclusion of his race in the exposition, Gaines urged Congress to provide financial support because the exposition would provide African Americans an opportunity to demonstrate their advancement. Bishop Abraham Grant of Texas suggested that the federal government had an obligation to grant the request because "Negroes were especially the wards of the government." Indirectly disparaging the white labor movement, he argued that the black worker was "the finest laborer on earth. He is the conservative element in this country, seldom in any riot or organized disturbance, and never in a strike." In a comment that probably sent shivers up the collective spine of the exposition committee, he reminded the appropriations committee that "there were now negroes born in freedom old enough to occupy the presidential chair." He challenged Congress to give them "an opportunity to show whether they were worthy of freedom and citizenship" by funding an exposition in which they could play a major role. Booker T. Washington, the final speaker, also pressed

for exposition funding, but he eschewed the political implications of Grant's message. He himself had not participated in politics, he said, for fifteen years. Washington advocated that blacks pursue industrial education and the acquisition of property, instead of pursuing civil rights, themes he reiterated in his address at the Cotton States Exposition.[31]

After several delays the appropriations committee sent the measure to the House floor. There George W. Murray, an African American serving a single term as a representative from South Carolina, spoke in favor of the bill. In one of two speeches later published in the official history of the Cotton States Exposition, Murray emphasized progress: "The Colored people are in favor of this Cotton States' Exposition, because they are to be allowed an opportunity to exhibit the progress they have made within the past thirty years. . . . We have proven in almost every line that we are capable of doing what other people can do." Murray's words exuded race pride. He particularly wanted to exhibit the patents obtained by African Americans, and he insisted that the Cotton States Exposition be "managed and controlled by the white and colored people of the South combined." His goal was overtly political. A display of African American accomplishments would force whites to confront the injustice of depriving "the colored man of his right to participate in the government." Murray also appealed to national pride: "We want an opportunity to prove that this country is truly a cosmopolitan country, that it is neither a white man's country nor a black man's country but a country to the building up of which all American citizens have alike contributed, whether by muscle or brain."[32]

As a result of lobbying efforts of African American leaders and the eloquent words of Representative Murray, Congress passed the funding bill with the stipulation that the exposition committee provide a separate Negro building and appoint an African American commissioner. ("Commissioner" was a catchall title given to any-

one who was responsible for exhibits.) By the end of the summer President Grover Cleveland had signed the act that appropriated $200,000 to the Cotton States Exposition.[33]

The commitment to erect a separate Negro building was a victory for those leaders who advocated a prominent role for African Americans at the fair, but not all African Americans welcomed separate exhibits. Some people were suspicious of the pledge of exposition organizers to highlight African American achievements. Given the accelerating pace of Jim Crow legislation throughout the South and the escalation in violence, their misgivings are understandable. The limited financial resources of African Americans spawned doubts about the quality of the proposed exhibits, and some feared that white southerners were setting up their race for failure. Inability to reach a consensus on the fair produced a paltry number of exhibits from Washington, D.C., a center of African American culture, education, and enterprise, and North Carolina reportedly sent an exhibit far inferior to the ones found annually at the state's Colored Fair. Distrust of the motives of the exposition's organizers, however, was secondary to the issue of how African Americans should respond to segregation, both at the fair and in the broader society.[34]

The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, held in 1884–85, had designated space for a separate "Colored Department," to which African Americans contributed more than sixteen thousand exhibits. Black leaders welcomed this opportunity, but at the same time they denounced exploitation and deteriorating race relations. By the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the situation in the South was far worse. Debate swirled around the Chicago fair: Was it better to have a separate African American exhibit or to integrate African American displays throughout the exposition? As it turned out, organizers did not give African Americans a choice. Rejecting a separate exhibit organized by African Americans, whites carefully scrutinized individual

displays and accepted few for the exposition. One of those included was from Atlanta University.

When the Chicago fair designated a "Colored People's Day," a number of prominent African Americans boycotted it as a demeaning concession to segregation. The erection of watermelon stands specifically for Colored People's Day and racist depictions of the event in newspapers only stiffened the resolve of many leaders to avoid complicity in efforts likely to denigrate their race and justify their status as second-class citizens. A group of black intellectuals, including Frederick Douglass, Ida B. Wells, and I. Garland Penn, became so incensed at the treatment of African Americans in Chicago that they authored a pamphlet, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition*. In keeping with the oft-articulated theme, they charted the progress African Americans had made since slavery, but the pamphlet also decried the discrimination and violence they had suffered.[35]

Support for separate exhibits reflected the development of African American communities following slavery. In the decades after emancipation, freed people established their own churches, organized benevolent associations and other community groups, sought African American schools and teachers for their children, and opened businesses that catered exclusively to members of their own race. The creation of this social and economic infrastructure was essential to community building and engendered support for racial separation among African Americans. African Americans took pride in their institutions and in their racial identity. Total integration, some feared, jeopardized both. Bishop Gaines, for example, rhetorically asked, "Will he in time lose his identity in the heterogeneity of the American people?" Then he assured his readers: "The negro intends to hold his own. He has a future, and that, too, in America."[36]

Such sentiments led many African Americans to resist the notion of displaying individual black and white exhibits together at

expositions because they feared that such melding would obscure the collective achievements of their race. The desire for separate exhibits, like the creation of black churches and schools, did not mean that advocates supported Jim Crow legislation and other discriminatory measures intended to enforce racial inferiority. Rather, they saw separate exhibits at expositions as a way to overwhelm white visitors with their accomplishments and challenge the idea that African Americans were anything less than equal to whites.[37]

Not all African Americans agreed that separate exhibits furthered the cause of equal rights. The *Watchman,* a weekly religious periodical, asked, "Must we gape and wonder at cotton raised or spun by Negroes?" A Negro building at the Cotton States Exposition implied that one should be astonished that African Americans could "do anything demanding skill or industry" and that, if they did, one should "surround the performance with a halo." As a result the *Watchman* opposed a separate building because the message was a "pernicious one" that did not further the cause of equality: "The practical teachings of these exhibits, that it is a wonder if the Negro can match the work of the average white man, is bad for the Negro, and bad for the white man."[38] Rather than viewing a Negro building as a showcase for the collective achievements of African Americans, other critics regarded it as another brick in the growing edifice of Jim Crow, one laid by white supremacists, not black leaders.[39]

The passage of Jim Crow legislation and the acceleration of racial violence prompted a number of African Americans to discourage attendance at the Cotton States Exposition. A black newspaper, the *Cleveland Gazette,* reminded readers that concessions operated by white southerners at the Chicago fair had denied service to African Americans and warned them to expect the same treatment if they traveled to the Cotton States Exposition: "Neither hotels, nor restaurants, nor public places of amusement, nor railroads, nor educational institutions, nor eleemosynary institutions, nor rest cures are open to the man of color in common with other men." For those

who might try to buy food and drink from concessionaires, "indignities, insults, outrages and cruel treatment are all awaiting you."[40] The *Washington Bee,* which became one of the exposition's harshest critics, wanly expressed hope that "perhaps the coming Atlanta Exposition will tend to soften the hearts of those [southern white] fiends and the bright side of the negro will be seen." The thrust of the article, however, was a denunciation of violence against African Americans: "There cannot be an apology made for the outrages perpetrated on the negro in the South. There are several things in the minds and hearts of a majority of the Southern white people and those are, the negro must keep out of politics, and above all things he must not marry a white woman." Despite travel information and advertising for the exposition in the pages of the *Bee,* the paper's description of "blood hounds running the poor negro down who has been charged with some imaginary crime" was unlikely to encourage visitors to attend.[41] The *Atlanta Constitution* predictably denounced the "evil influence" of "demagogues and agitators" who were "endeavoring to prejudice the negroes against this exhibit."[42]

African Americans across the South were trying to make up their minds for themselves. A black schoolteacher in Pensacola, Florida, for example, wrote Booker T. Washington for advice on the teacher's presentation to a meeting assembled to discuss "whether the negroes should attend the Atlanta Exposition, and ride in Second class cars." Local organizers of a debate on the issue had asked him "to show why they *should,*" but he had misgivings. "There are some strong reasons," he wrote, "why they should not."[43]

Exposition officials attempted to allay such concerns. To manage the African American exhibits, they appointed a board of Negro commissioners with members from all southern states. The responsibilities of the board included raising funds — $3,000 from each state — and recruiting exhibits for the Negro Building. Nevertheless, the white directors demurred at conceding complete control and designated a former Confederate general to chair a

white "committee on the work of the colored people."[44] In January 1895 the African American commissioners met in Atlanta and recommended the appointment of I. Garland Penn as chief of the Negro Building.[45] Penn was a teacher, former newspaper editor, and author of *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors*.[46] He also had contributed an essay, "The Progress of the Afro-American Since Emancipation," to *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition,* but he found himself in more conservative company in Atlanta.[47] Penn had a close relationship with Booker T. Washington, who had turned down the leadership role because of the demands of his position as head of Tuskegee. Penn worked to showcase Washington and Tuskegee, but he exhibited independence by using his position to publicly address discrimination. In a message sent to the president and executive committee of the exposition, Penn and the president of the Board of Negro Commissioners "recommend[ed] that the management of this exposition use all the influence in their power to obtain improved and more just facilities for colored passengers traveling to and from the exposition." They pointed out that "a large proportion of the colored race will not travel on the railroads with the present unequal accommodations," in particular, the "dirty 'Jim Crow'" cars to which they would be relegated, even though they had paid first-class fares. (As a result the secretary of the exposition secured a pledge from every rail line connected to Atlanta that "all negroes would be furnished with first-class transportation.") The Board of Negro Commissioners then took action on other matters. Exposition president Charles Collier, who attended the meeting, moved that those in attendance approve all measures except Penn's appointment. The Negro commissioners did not have the final say on that issue; Collier referred the matter to the exposition's white executive committee, which ratified Penn's appointment.[48]

Organizers had to make provisions for the construction of a building to house the exhibits that the Board of Negro Commissioners

anticipated would flow into Atlanta. Unlike other buildings, whose construction exhibitors were supposed to finance through the fees they paid, the exposition expected to bear all expenses for construction of the Negro Building in accordance with the congressional appropriation. The executive committee initially planned to convert a structure left over from a previous exposition into the Negro Building, but by October 1894 it had decided to construct a new building, albeit with materials salvaged from the demolished one.[49] The white exposition architect, Bradford L. Gilbert, designed the building, which encompassed twenty-five thousand square feet, in the Romanesque style with gray wooden shingles. It had a central tower that rose seventy feet and a "pavilion" at each corner. The location assigned was on the periphery of the exposition between the midway with its sideshows and the land set aside for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. It does not even appear in some "bird's eye" views. In January 1895 the partnership of J. T. King and J. W. Smith, the only African Americans competing for the construction contract, submitted the lowest sealed bid of $9,923 and won the contract for the Negro Building. They pledged to use black labor exclusively, a circumstance that prompted the *Atlanta Constitution* to marvel that the Negro Building would be "built by negroes, under the supervision of negroes, and filled with exhibits showing the progress of the colored race."[50]

African Americans worked elsewhere in the construction of the exposition, especially in the clearing and grading of the grounds, but many were convicts provided to the exposition company. Convict leasing to private companies and individuals, who often treated the prisoners brutally, ranked with lynching as "twin infamies," according to the authors of *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition*. The Cotton States Exposition was a private company, and its directors did not hesitate to exploit convicts, especially since Fulton County offered them gratis. Free laborers in the city and the Georgia Republican Party, to which

most African Americans belonged, protested convict leasing by the exposition but to no avail. The use of convicts ultimately saved the exposition company $100,000.[51]

With the building contract let, attention turned to the exhibits. Influenced by contemporary ideas of social evolution, whites and blacks agreed that African American progress should be the theme of the exhibits, but they did not agree on how to present "progress." African Americans envisioned exhibits that focused on their accomplishments since emancipation. Exposition organizers, on the other hand, wanted to take a longer view, "beginning with the jungles of Africa and the rude huts of the natives, and passing through successive stages until the present advanced condition of the race is reached."[52] This narrative of progress made slavery a more advanced state than primitive freedom, but for African Americans slavery, not "savagery," was the degraded condition from which they had progressed. The Negro Building ultimately had a small exhibit on Africa consisting of items that African Americans had collected on visits there, but the objects pointed to salvation through Christian missions, not slavery.

Then the issue of biological evolution cropped up. In April 1895 a reporter from the *Richmond (Va.) Times* asked Charles W. Dabney, concurrently serving as president of the University of Tennessee, assistant secretary of agriculture, and chair of the U.S. government's exhibit, whether the Smithsonian Institution's displays at the Cotton States Exposition would include "anthropoidal apes." Dabney answered, "Yes, I had heard they would." By the time the story appeared in print, Dabney's offhand comment had become the foundation for the following description of the Smithsonian's exhibit: "Among other rare exhibits there will be seen a series of figures illustrating the evolution of the Negro from the earliest animals through the ape, chimpanzee and the South African Bushman, down to the Negro as he is in this country." A firestorm erupted. Penn wrote Walter G. Cooper, the chief of publicity and

promotion for the exposition, "that his race would strongly oppose such an exhibit, and already felt highly offended that such a show was contemplated." Cooper demanded an explanation from the Smithsonian, whose representative assured Cooper that "no such exhibit has ever been dreamed of." J. F. Johnson, special agent for the government exhibit, pointed out in a letter to the *Times* that "the whole thing is ludicrous and nonsensical in the extreme." The Smithsonian had no intention of displaying "the theories of evolutionists," but if it did, science demanded an evenhanded treatment: "How could the evolution of the Negro be shown from the earliest animals without also showing the evolution of the Caucasian from the earliest animals?" He chastised the *Times* for publishing such a story rather than one "to awaken a lively interest in the collection of a Colored exhibit for the Georgia fair" and compared the story with inflammatory coverage of "the Jim Crow car question." He acknowledged, however, that the Smithsonian would have ignored the report in the *Times* had it not been for the objections that African Americans raised in Atlanta.[53]

Although he was an employee of the exposition, Penn struggled with the executive board over the representation of African Americans. Penn convinced the board of directors to include an African American speaker for the opening program, but he needed to find a speaker acceptable to the board as well as to black leaders. He solicited suggestions from prominent African Americans throughout the country. Respondents named John Mercer Langston and John E. Bruce in particular. Both were courageous suggestions. Langston was a founder of the law school at Howard University, and he had served as consul general to Haiti. In 1888 he ran for Congress from Virginia. When white Democrats insisted he had lost, he contested the election. After eighteen months Congress finally seated him, and he served six months before being defeated in the 1890 election. Bruce, a journalist, advocated resistance to violence against African Americans. "Submission to

the *dicta* of Southern bulldozers is the basest cowardice," he wrote in 1889, "and there is no just reason why manly men of any race should allow themselves to be continually outraged and oppressed by their equals before the law." Only a few people proposed Booker T. Washington as the speaker for opening day at the Cotton States Exposition.[54]

Washington later insisted that Penn had been his advocate, and Penn might have concluded that Washington was a safer choice than the two frontrunners.[55] The directors had heard him speak on several occasions, including before the House Appropriations Committee, and they knew that he demurred at political activism and instead emphasized hard work, industrial education, and Christian virtues. Even so, Penn had difficulty securing the board's assent. Penn wrote Washington: "The latest dodge is by President Collier suggesting that we have a separate dedicatory exercise of the Negro Building and asking me to consider the same. I shall insist in your name upon the principal programme and shall either get you or a point blank refusal, then it *may be* that I will take to the dedication business. I am using for all it is worth your help to them at Washington and the magnificent exhibit you are making here."[56] At last the board agreed. Obscuring the resistance from exposition officers, the *Atlanta Constitution* assured readers that "it was not altogether the desire to yield to the wishes of the colored contingent that induced the directors to make this invitation."[57] The selection of Washington made palatable the idea of a black man's speaking to a biracial audience at the opening of the Cotton States Exposition.

Nevertheless, Penn was nervous. He gave Washington pointers for his speech: "These white people ought to be commended for their concessions to the Negro, and yet be made to know that they could not get along without him. . . . Plead for kind treatment of the Negro and little friction during the Exposition, etc."[58] As the day approached, Penn had to counter a rumor that the exposition had scheduled Washington to speak only at the opening of the

Negro Building a month hence. "The recognition given the race in the selection of Prof. Washington is too significant to have it misunderstood," Penn wrote African American newspapers. The president of Tuskegee was, in fact, "to deliver an oration representing the race on the REGULAR PROGRAMME of opening Day Exercises."[59] Washington's close friend, the white philanthropist William Henry Baldwin Jr., feared a race war if African Americans offended whites at the opening. Instead of attending the ceremony, he paced anxiously in the Negro Building.[60]

On September 18, 1895, African Americans who lined Atlanta streets to see the parade to the opening ceremonies of the Cotton States Exposition must have thrilled at the sight of black soldiers in the procession, even though their place was at the end of a long line of white soldiers. The Second Battalion of Colored Infantry, which would distinguish itself just three years later in the Spanish American War, marched under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Floyd H. Crumbly, a prominent black businessman, banker, and philanthropist who had run for Atlanta City Council on the African American slate in 1890. Then came the Lincoln Guards from Macon. Dignitaries in carriages followed the soldiers; Penn, Washington, and the members of the Board of Negro Commissioners rode in carriages but not with white officials.[61] The carriages discharged their passengers at the fairgrounds, and the platform party filed into the auditorium, where a segregated audience awaited the opening events, which some black Atlantans had boycotted in protest of the seating arrangements.

When Washington finally spoke, his thoughtful, articulate words awed his listeners. He made several important points. He reminded his audience that one-third of the population in the South was African American, and he commended the directors for recognizing them at the Cotton States Exposition. He illustrated his remarks with a parable of a ship lost at sea and devoid of provisions: crew members dropped a bucket into what they assumed was saltwater,

only to find it to be the freshwater of the Amazon. Washington urged both black and white southerners to "cast down your bucket where you are." He advised African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are" — uneducated and unskilled — and to "dignify and glorify common labor."[62] He encouraged whites to "cast down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds." He extolled the progress of African Americans since slavery and commended whites for their assistance.

African Americans found much to agree with in the speech. W. E. B. Du Bois, who later became one of Washington's most outspoken critics, sent a congratulatory telegram: "It was a word fitly spoken."[63] The *Savannah Tribune,* an African American newspaper, reported that Washington "represented the colored people and he did it admirably too."[64]

Prominent whites also praised the speech. Upon reading the text President Grover Cleveland wrote Washington a letter of thanks: "Your words cannot fail to delight and encourage all who wish well for your race."[65] Even abroad the reception was favorable. In its coverage of opening day festivities, for example, the *Mexican Herald* proclaimed that the exposition "marks the close of a bitter and openly avowed racial war and inaugurates an era of fraternal toleration and mutual confidence that will consolidate and enrich the South in years to come."[66]

Despite the acclamation, Washington's speech contained lines that troubled some African Americans, particularly those who had been struggling actively for civil rights. Washington decried African American political participation during Reconstruction: "Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden."

Washington asserted that "agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly." He urged African Americans to become economically productive and acquire property rather than seek social equality or political rights. He advocated "cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man" and failed to mention the racial violence that ran rampant across the region. The *Washington Bee* responded. Washington's speech, an editorial claimed, "was nothing more than an apology for the white negro haters of the South." Condemning Washington's emphasis on industrial education, the *Bee* insisted, "We need lawyers, doctors, scientists and all kinds of professional men." Although African Americans paid taxes, Washington, the paper charged, "would have all the negroes disfranchised and allow the white people [to] hold offices. . . . While Prof. Washington was apologizing for the Southern white people the South Carolina Constitutional Convention was disfranchising the negro."[67]

Criticism of the speech intensified. The Bethel Literary and Historical Society of Washington, D.C., took up Washington's speech. Some members attempted to defend the address, but those most critical of it "carried the house by storm." L. W. Pulies charged that Washington's speech "conceded the inferiority of the negro; it ignored the civil rights of the negro." Pulies pointed out that African Americans had always worked hard and "through two centuries and a half have contributed much to the national wealth and development of the country." Washington had demonstrated "confusion of social equality with civil rights." African Americans wanted the latter, not the former. Pulies concluded: "If Mr. Washington's speech, in all its ramifications, is the hit of the century then the barbarous murders in the South during the past few weeks is a fitting response to that speech."[68] Some national black leaders, including Ida B. Wells and W. E. B. Du Bois, joined the chorus. Despite his congratulatory telegram, in 1903 Du Bois protested that "Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority

of the Negro races" by asking "that black people give up, at least for the present, three things — First, political power; Second, insistence on civil rights; Third, higher education of Negro youth."[69]

Some African Americans regarded the entire exposition as a subterfuge. It represented race relations as harmonious, thereby obscuring the growing oppression of African Americans. H. A. Hagler, editor of the *People's Advocate* of Atlanta, published an article, "Fake of Fakes," in which he accused the exposition of discrimination.[70] When L. W. Pulies attended the fair, he found the Negro Building "unfinished" but "five cents Georgia rum" readily available. The bar at the Negro Building, he claimed, was the only place at the exposition where "the villianous decoction is dispensed." Many African American leaders had long been engaged in a campaign of moral uplift, so the sale of alcohol in a building designed to show their race's progress was a grievous affront. Furthermore, Pulies found a placard posted on some buildings at the exposition: "Dogs and negroes not admitted."[71]

The *Atlanta Constitution* refuted the rumors of "a few sensation mongers . . . that the Negroes are discriminated against, and that they are not wanted in some of the buildings."[72] Penn sent African American newspapers a letter from the exposition management denying the "many falsehoods told about the Negro and his treatment at the great Exposition," especially the contention that African Americans were permitted only in the Negro Building. The letter assured readers that "the colored people are welcome to visit all of the exhibit buildings" as well as the attractions on the midway. Penn also accused "designing men of our race" of first trying to thwart a separate African American exhibit and, having failed in that effort, then "attempting by falsehood of the deepest dye to prevent an attendance."[73] He solicited testimonials of good treatment from prominent African American visitors to the fair, and the *Atlanta Constitution* published them in conjunction with a story about the meeting of the National Afro-American Press

Association in Atlanta.[74] The charges took on international significance: the *Mexican Herald* published a summary of Penn's rebuttal that had appeared in a Canadian newspaper.[75] Neither Penn nor the exposition organizers denied the existence of segregation. African Americans sat in separate sections for programs and performances, just as they had for the opening ceremony. They ate and drank in separate facilities and used separate restrooms. Equality, however, proved illusory. The publications that commemorated the exposition featured photographs and articles about the Negro Building, but they did not include any African Americans among the Atlanta notables whose biographies they printed.[76]

Penn had other pressing concerns. He was not sure railroads would treat African Americans fairly, and he worried about the availability of segregated housing in hotels and private homes.[77] As the fair got underway, he publicly downplayed these matters and urged African Americans to attend. He assured them that they could see "the most complete exhibition of race progress ever made, a stunner to the ignorant, a source of pride and gratification to the Negro and his friends." Various rumors swirled around the exposition — that it was expensive to attend, that water was unavailable on the grounds, that food and lodging were expensive and hard to find, that local entrepreneurs engaged in extortion. Some black newspapers tried to counter these claims. The *Savannah Tribune* reported that an entrance fee of fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children younger than twelve entitled one to visit all exposition buildings but not the amusements of the midway, which charged separate fees because private individuals operated them. Water was available throughout the exposition for free, while a variety of restaurants and stands provided food, and visitors could rent a room for a dollar a night. As for accounts of extortion, they were "ridiculously absurd."[78]

Records do not detail how successful fair officials were in persuading African Americans to visit. The Negro Building, which

both black and white visited, received the second-highest number of visitors, outranked only by the Woman's Building. However, the total attendance at the exposition, approximately 800,000, was disappointing. Atlanta Day drew more than fifty thousand, but attendance at Negro Day was fewer than six thousand. Small gate receipts nearly caused an early closing of the exposition. The financial difficulties had a direct impact on Penn, and the exposition ordered him to lay off his clerk. Penn appealed to Washington for fifty dollars, part of a sum that the exposition owed Washington, so that Penn could cover his expenses. Just as creditors were about to shut down the fair, Samuel Inman devised a plan to save the exposition and the Negro Building, but the willingness of the organizers to jettison Penn's work must have rankled.[79]

The Negro Building formally opened on October 21, a month after the exposition began. Approximately five thousand African Americans and five hundred whites packed the auditorium for the opening event. The program started with an invocation and interspersed speeches with singing by both the audience and choirs from Atlanta University and Spelman, Morris Brown, and Clark colleges. I. Garland Penn and exposition president Charles Collier delivered brief speeches with the predictable theme of black progress. But the main events of the day had a bit more edge. Adrienne Herndon, who taught elocution at Atlanta University, read an ode composed by Professor D. Webster Davis, a leader in the black community of Richmond, Virginia. The ode incorporated some of the same themes as Washington's address on opening day, but, reflecting the attitudes of many African Americans, it moved on to a less obsequious tone:

> With grateful hearts we thank the men who gave to us the chance
> To show the world our progress made, our usefulness enhance;
> Yet 'twas our right, and not a man in justice could oppose,
> For Negro hands made "Dixie" bloom and blossom as the rose.

. . . . . .

God is not dead, though justice sleeps, and right must conquer
might;
The south's our common country, each must strive to do the right.

. . . . . .

With interests one, and hopes the same, we'll look like hopeful
youth,
To see the new sun dawning with its satellites of truth;
Disfranchisement, injustice and prejudices gone,
We'll both rejoice together at the coming of the dawn.

On this day broader concerns of the African American community found voice.[80]

The keynote speaker was Rev. J. W. E. Bowen of Gammon Theological Seminary. Bowen, a native of New Orleans, had received a Ph.D. from Boston University in 1887, one of the first African Americans to hold this academic degree. He joined Gammon Theological Seminary as its first full-time African American faculty member. Bowen mentioned Washington in his speech, but he cited Plato, Copernicus, Johannes Kepler, Emanuel Kant, and Herbert Spencer and quoted Edmund Burke. Bowen quite clearly was not the product of the industrial education Washington advocated. A minister and theologian, Bowen titled his address "An Appeal to the King," that is, to God, and reminded his audience that God "occupies a front seat in the halls of legislation" as well as in the courts and on the police force. Injustice could not escape his gaze.

Bowen placed the so-called Negro problem in a historical and global perspective and asserted that "the largest struggle of human society is to attain this concrete reality of civil justice." Just as Washington had adopted the metaphor "cast down your bucket," Bowen invoked "three feet makes a yard." No matter who a person was or where he lived, three feet still made a yard, not just in mathematics but in "politics, economics, and ethics." Bowen implored

Americans to recognize that more than one race could participate in "national life" without fear of "amalgamation" by becoming "homogeneous in sentiment though heterogeneous in blood." Having quoted from the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," Bowen acknowledged that "there is no such thing as perfect equality of individual or race." Nevertheless, "all men are natively and equally endowed with the essentials of humanity and divinity. And because of this, each and all should be permitted to develop his endowment for the good of society within the limits of unprejudiced legislation." In addition to working as manual laborers, African Americans must also be "worker[s] in the realm of the mind." An African American, Bowen thundered, "must be a man among men, not so much a black man, but a man though black." To accomplish this goal "the education of the negro must be on a par with the education of the white man. It must begin in the kindergarten as that of the white man and end with the university as that of the white man."[81] Anything less would be unfair.

Bowen's address set a very different tone for the opening of the Negro Building than Booker T. Washington's had for the exposition. The *Savannah Tribune* reported that Bowen "elicited the closest attention, interrupted frequently by the most enthusiastic applause" and described the address as "one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered, in which the Negro's plea for right and justice has been shown to the American people."[82]

In some ways the Negro Building that opened that day reflected the views of Washington and white fair organizers, who emphasized progress through manual labor. Visitors entered under a pediment adorned with two images. On one side was a "slave mammie with the one-room log cabin, the log church, the rake and basket." On the other was Frederick Douglass, "a true representative of the growth and intelligence in the colored man. Near him is the comfortable residence, the stone church and symbols of the race's progress." In the middle was "the plow and well-fed mule," implying that

farming was central to the transformation. Inside the building musicians performed in the pavilion beneath the central tower. These included the Fisk Jubilee Singers, students from Fisk University whose choir, organized 1871, raised funds for their school with international tours. Exhibits stretched down both wings. The first exhibit was from the District of Columbia, and those of the states followed, with a final section reserved for individuals from states in the North and West that did not have Negro commissioners. Though spacious, the building bulged at the seams with exhibits. The various events sponsored by the Negro Building were held elsewhere, often in the Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the restaurant was in an annex on the midway.[83]

Most states highlighted public schools and institutions of higher education in their exhibits. In total, twenty-nine schools from across the South were represented. The industrial training schools, especially Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School in Alabama, occupied large sections of their states' exhibit space, where they displayed the products of students' labor. From Hampton came architectural drawings, woodwork and ironwork, specimens of book binding, various forms of conveyance, and a drill press as well as academic exercises. Tuskegee featured "wagons, buggies, carts, stoves, engines, tin pots, tubs, toilet sets, furniture of all sorts, . . . clothing for all classes." These items represented a craft rather than an industrial approach to labor.[84]

The institutions that focused on a more academic education also were represented, but they received less coverage in the press, perhaps because the accomplishments of their students were more difficult to display. Academic exhibits often had to rely on photographs or examples of student compositions. Fisk University in Nashville featured a large painting of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Howard University in Washington, D.C., simply listed its graduates: 152 ministers, 135 lawyers, and 618 physicians and dentists. Gammon

Theological Seminary distributed thousands of pamphlets on mission work in Africa, and Spelman Seminary, a women's college, presented "a model training room for nurses of the sick." Central Tennessee College sent an exhibit of "moths and butterflies, pressed flowers and birds" that was described as a "marvel of perfectness."[85]

Like the academic institutions, churches and other organizations found it challenging to decide what to present. Black churches contributed photographs of their buildings that identified them by name, denomination, location, and pastor. These photographs indicated that "the Negro has made wonderful progress in church building, some of their church edifices being among the finest in the land." Statistics showed that the United States had 22,153 African American churches with a seating capacity of more than eight million. Domestic mission work, especially that conducted by Presbyterians and Catholics, was also represented.[86] Individual and community philanthropic endeavors found a place in the Negro Building. The Carrie Steele Orphanage in Atlanta had an exhibit described as "at once practical and pathetic" because it served children without parents. Steele had worked many years as an attendant in the railway station's white waiting room before founding the orphanage with funds she raised by selling her own home and her autobiography.[87] The Washington, D.C., exhibit featured Dr. John R. Francis's sanitarium, which served impoverished African Americans in that city.[88] Despite the antiunion sentiments expressed by Booker T. Washington and other speakers at the exposition, the Colored Knights of Labor from Pensacola, Florida, contributed a model of a ship.[89]

Some exhibitors demonstrated considerable interest in Africa. Bishop Henry M. Turner, who promoted the emigration of African Americans to their ancestral continent, assembled an exhibit called "Uncivilized Africa." The examples of "crude manufactures" that Turner had collected during his travels — ironwork and woodwork, cloth, and oils "made by the heathen" — served as a call to save and

civilize the inhabitants of the "Dark Continent."[90] Dr. Georgia Patton, who graduated from Meharry Medical College in 1893, had just returned from a mission to Liberia, and she displayed her collection, which, according to a New England Methodist periodical, "deepen[ed] interest in this strange race, to see it in savagery thus, in the midst of its refined civilization." While looking at a boa constrictor skin, one young man expressed interest in going to Africa as a naturalist, an ambition that elicited the comment "the race brains are growing keen under cultivation." The Negro Building not only chronicled what the race had achieved, it also challenged young African Americans to aspire to greater heights.[91]

Several states gave space to African American businesses, including two African American companies that owned steamships that sailed between Washington, D.C., and Norfolk, Virginia. The Atlanta grocer F. H. Crumbly sponsored a grocery exhibit. From Virginia came "the finest kind of pressed brick," which an African American man made "on his own plantation."[92] A black-owned company in Atlanta showed its mantel tiles, while African American druggists organized a pharmacological exhibit.[93]

Financial institutions, which figured prominently in the exhibits of Virginia and South Carolina, were excellent examples of self-help. Virginia featured the True Reformers Bank of Richmond, which had deposits totaling $80,000 and a surplus of $25,000. In 1881 Rev. W. W. Browne, a native Georgian who had moved to Richmond, had organized a fraternal organization to provide benefits to members when they were sick or to their families when they died. This arrangement gave rise to the institution that, in 1888, became the first bank chartered by African Americans. The other bank was the South Carolina Banking Association, headquartered in Florence. These exhibits demonstrated that African Americans valued both the accumulation and protection of wealth and that they had the business acumen to create their own institutions to manage that wealth.[94]

The commissioners sought to reveal the previously unheralded creativity of African Americans. The committee organizing the Washington, D.C., exhibit identified two hundred inventions by African Americans in the Patent Office and decided to display a selection of them, including Granville T. Woods's "underground electric propulsion and synchronous multiplied railroad telegraph," Humphrey H. Reynolds's window ventilator used in railroad cars, and Leonard C. Bailey's truss, which reportedly was in "general use and from which the inventor is getting a handsome revenue." Other inventions and constructions had not been patented, but they were remarkable nonetheless. A woman physician from Chicago sent a set of surgical instruments that she had developed. The Arkansas exhibit included a peach pitter of unique design, and Georgia displayed a coupling invented by one of its citizens. The Virginia exhibit had a boat "built by the head cook of a hostelry in Lynchburg, Va.," and a bicycle constructed by a boy with "an inventive turn of mind." Some creations were merely curiosities. A fourteen-year-old boy from Knoxville carved an entire house, its furnishings, and even the pictures on the walls entirely out of cornstalks. It was "a fac-simile of the house where his mother works."[95]

The Negro Building featured works of art, music, and literature. A large sculpture, "A Negro with Chains Broken but Not Off," stood near the main entrance and, according to Penn, represented "the condition of the colored man in the entire country." W. O. Jacques, president of "the only distinctively art school for colored people" in Eatonville, Florida, made "an astonishingly large and credible art exhibit." The most notable work in the Negro Building (and at the Cotton States Exposition) was Henry O. Tanner's *The Banjo Lesson*. Trained by Thomas Eakins, Tanner had moved to Paris where he won international acclaim. The painting of an elderly man teaching a young boy to play the banjo brought extraordinary sensitivity to a familiar theme and demonstrated an artistic sophistication of which many whites thought blacks incapable.[96]

Musical compositions displayed in the Negro Building included the "Atlanta Exposition Quick Step," by two faculty members at Tuskegee.[97] Chief Penn had sent out a request for samples of the 206 African American newspapers and ten magazines published in the United States as well as copies of books by African American authors for "a special exhibit of the literary progress of the race."[98] He managed to obtain copies of only one-fifth of the books that African Americans had authored. Among them were Penn's book on the black press; Monroe A. Majors's *Noted Negro Women;* Joseph T. Wilson's *The Black Phalanx,* about African Americans in the Civil War; and Bishop Gaines's history of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[99]

The Woman's Building barred exhibits from African American women, so the domestic arts also appeared in the Negro Building. Black women from several states assembled needlework displays that were "extensive and the best." One woman priced her exceptionally detailed quilt at $100. A blind girl exhibited "two large pieces of intricate crocheting." The Memphis exhibit included "fine needlework done by old women who were three and four times sold." Women also contributed canned fruits, jellies, and baked goods. They demonstrated their artistic talents in paintings and sculptures. Just as the Woman's Building paid particular attention to the past, African American women demonstrated their own interest in history. Julia Britton Hooks, who organized the Memphis exhibit, related a story of how her mother-in-law wanted to send something to the exposition, so she gave her daughter-in-law a copy of the *Kentucky Gazette* from 1822 in which appeared an advertisement for the sale of "a light-colored girl." The old woman had been that girl, and she surrendered the paper, a keepsake from "when the family was sundered," with tears in her eyes.[100] For her it was a tangible bond to kin long lost; for the Negro Building it was a reminder of a painful past and evidence of how far African Americans had come.

In the Negro Building surprises awaited thoughtful visitors who reflected on the region's recent past. One of the most acclaimed artworks was a bust of Charles Sumner by Edmonia Lewis, an Afro-Indian sculptor who lived in Rome, Italy. Lewis had given the sculpture to William Henry Johnson, an African American abolitionist and civil rights activist who lived in Albany, New York, and Johnson had loaned it to the Negro Building. Sumner, a Massachusetts senator, had nearly died in 1856 from a beating by U.S. Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina after Sumner had denounced Brooks's uncle, Senator Andrew Butler, in an anti-slavery speech. To the slaveholding South Brooks became a hero and Sumner a shameful coward. Following the Civil War, Sumner championed civil rights for African Americans and denounced all forms of segregation. It would be difficult to imagine a nineteenth-century politician more loathed by the white South. Yet here he was in marble at the Cotton States Exposition.[101]

The story of Sumner's life was among the books Penn had collected for the Negro Building. Written by Archibald H. Grimké, Sumner's biography stood next to the life story of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison by the same author. Grimké, U.S. consul to the Dominican Republic, was the biracial son of Henry Grimké, a slaveholder, and his slave as well as the nephew of the famous abolitionists and women's rights advocates Sarah and Angelina Grimké. Archibald Grimké also had written a book on the slave conspiracy of Denmark Vesey, but whether that book was in the exposition's collection is not known. The presence of historical figures who were anathema to white southerners represented a more subtle resistance than that mounted by Vesey, but it was resistance nonetheless.[102]

Omissions surprised other visitors. Alice M. Bacon, who taught at Hampton and was a founder of the Hampton Folklore Society, thought that the paucity of agricultural exhibits in the Negro Building "would lead one to suppose that that was the smallest part of [their] work" when statistics indicated that most African

Americans farmed.[103] Even *Kawkab Amerika,* the Arabic language newspaper published in New York, expected the Negro Building's displays to be primarily agricultural since whites depended on African Americans to grow the cotton on which their wealth rested.[104] There were some agricultural exhibits but not many. Florida sent an elaborate exhibit that included wine, preserves, and pickles as well as tropical fruits and vegetables. North Carolina sent exhibits from its agricultural fair, and some other states had small displays, but farming was grossly underrepresented.[105] Perhaps agricultural exhibits struck the commissioners as too old-fashioned since they sought to situate African Americans in the modern South. The Negro Building also had relatively few "individual exhibitors or business firms," but Bacon suspected that the cost involved in staging an exhibit explained their absence.[106]

Bacon did not mention the absence of industrial manufacturing in the Negro Building, but almost all the items featured at the fair had been constructed in workshops, not factories, a circumstance that provoked some defensiveness since the exposition supposedly celebrated industrialization. One account of the displays assured readers that "the work is not amateurish, but equal in finish to that put upon the market by manufacturers of these products." Penn called the handcrafted wagons in the Georgia exhibit "as good as those in large manufactories."[107] But upon examining the exhibits in the Negro Building, Bishop Turner noted that "there is nothing new in all this fine work. . . . It is the skill of the same old negro who was in slavery." Enslaved African Americans had been skilled craftsmen, and the only real difference that Turner could see was that they could now pursue the trades they chose.[108] Factories had largely deprived African Americans of experience with industrial production because managers hired blacks only "to fire engines, cut wood, heave coal, or to drive teams and to mind freight-boats on the river," that is, supply manual labor and perform menial jobs.[109] At a meeting of cotton manufacturers at the exposition, a mill owner from

Charlotte contemplated a proposal to try African American laborers in the mills. "Not even those who know and love the colored people best," he replied when the idea was broached, "has ever had the courage to try the experiment."[110] By cutting African American people off from industrial production, mill owners cut them off from the New South.

The response to the Negro Building was overwhelmingly positive. When President Cleveland visited the exposition, he "expressed himself as being both surprised and greatly pleased at the exhibit."[111] Except for the controversy about racial discrimination at the exposition and in the South, press coverage was favorable. The *New York Outlook* found "evidences of the aspirations and upward striving of a race no longer content with being mere hewers of wood and drawers of water." The *Richmond (Va.) Religious Herald* commented, "No oppressed race was ever known to make such progress." The *Southern Workman* concluded that "a great amount of good has been done by it." *Woman's Era* even went so far as to suggest that "many who opposed the exhibit at first are now frank to say that they are sorry they did not lend their support." The response of most African American visitors probably reflected that of Bishop Turner, who, despite his criticism, avowed, "I am as proud of this exhibit as any one." More poignant was the ninety-year-old woman who traveled sixty miles with her son to see the fair: "When at last she stood in the Negro Building, and the different objects of interest were pointed out to her, all the work of her own people whom she had known only as slaves or peons, the sight was too much for her, and she just stood and cried for joy."[112]

As head of the Negro Building, Penn organized a number of congresses at the Cotton States Exposition that attracted African Americans from across the nation. The National Negro Congress, held in mid-November, served as an umbrella for meetings of religious denominations and various professions. Military Day inaugurated the congress. Christian A. Fleetwood, former sergeant

major of the Fourth U.S. Colored Troops, addressed fifteen hundred African American soldiers representing eight companies. He recounted African American contributions to the nation's wars and pointed out the lack of gratitude shown them: "In every war so far known to this country, the first blood, and, in some cases the last also, has been shed by the faithful Negro, and this in spite of all the years of bondage and oppression, and of wrongs unspeakable." African American soldiers had had to struggle for equal pay and veterans' pensions from an unappreciative nation. On a more positive note Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, the Colored Young Men's Christian Association, and temperance organizations assembled at local churches and on the exposition grounds with messages that focused on racial uplift. Doctors, lawyers, bankers, mechanics, farmers, and businessmen, as well as the National Afro-American Press Association, had specific days on which the Negro Building honored them. In December the American Association of Educators of Colored Youth met, as did a Congress on Africa, under the auspices of the Negro Building.[113]

The Congress on Africa drew scholars, diplomats, missionaries, and explorers as well as two African converts to Christianity. The purpose of the congress was to interest African Americans in their ancestral homeland, and speakers challenged members of the audience to help Africans. In his opening remarks President W. P. Thirkield of Gammon Theological Seminary decried European imperialism: "In other centuries the curse was the *stealing of Africans from Africa*. Now, it is the game among European nations of 'shut your eyes and grab' in their efforts to *steal Africa from the African*." In a welcome that perhaps horrified many in the audience, Governor W. Y. Atkinson of Georgia suggested that God had intended for Africans to be enslaved, brought to America, and Christianized so that they could "pray and work for the redemption of your fatherland." The Liberian diplomat, editor, writer, and politician Edward W. Blyden justified imperialism in the cause of

"civilization." Former slaves under the patronage of the United States had colonized Liberia, just as British freed people had settled neighboring Sierra Leone, and he viewed their "civilizing" effect on native-born Africans favorably. Other speakers urged missionaries to separate education from religion in their work, read the scholarship on Africa, and recognize that "Africa is for the African." A representative of the American Colonization Society exhorted African Americans to abandon the "hostile environment" in the United States and help build up Liberia "for the sake of itself" as well as for its influence on the rest of Africa and on the race. Others opposed emigration. Whatever their specific agenda, all the speeches articulated a sense of responsibility for Africa, and many expressed pride that "she once was the cradle of civilization, the mistress of the arts and sciences."[114]

Although the congress focused on Africa, several speakers addressed the situation of African Americans. John H. Smyth, former U.S. minister to Liberia, pointed to the position of blacks in American society: "Though we are a part of this great national whole, we are a distinct and separate part, an alien part racially, and destined to be so by the immutable law of race pride, which is possessed by our white fellow-citizens, if not by us." Refuting Governor Atkinson, Smyth condemned the slave trade and denounced the theories that ascribed inferiority to people of African descent. He described the various peoples of Africa and their glorious history in which they "furnished Europe with letters, sciences, and arts," accomplishments to which the pyramids and the Sphinx bore witness. By connecting them to the glories of Africa, Smyth sought to give African Americans "some conception of the dignity which attaches to Negro manhood, and create in you a preference for your race before all other races."[115] Bishop Turner, a tireless advocate of emigration to Africa, echoed some of the same themes, but his critique of American race relations was much harsher. Turner decried the discrimination that African Americans suffered, and he

offered a rebuttal to Washington's speech: "The colored man who will stand up and in one breath say, that the Negroid race does not want social equality and in the next predict a great future in the face of all the proscription of which the colored man is the victim, is either an ignoramus, or is an advocate of the perpetual servility and degradation of his race variety." The only solution for African Americans, Turner believed, was to have a country of their own.[116]

The Cotton States Exposition provided a public forum for such denouncements of white racism and accommodationist rhetoric. The most explicit attacks on racism came not from ministers, politicians, or male educators but from African American women, who had been barred from the lily-white Woman's Building. The Congress on Women, scheduled for December 27 immediately following Negro Day, acknowledged the tremendous amount of work that women had contributed to the exhibits in the Negro Building.[117] Although no women served as commissioners, many had assumed primary responsibility for organizing displays from their communities or from the institutions with which they were associated. Amanda Gray, an alumna of Howard University and a pharmacist in Washington, D.C., for example, put together the exhibit from Howard.[118] Women also had attempted to influence what took place. The Tuskegee Women's Club, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington's wife, tried unsuccessfully to have the saloon adjacent to the Negro restaurant closed because it was "a stigma upon the entire race." Such activities were consistent with late nineteenth-century conceptions of womanhood that emphasized domesticity, community service, and moral uplift.[119]

The Congress on Women met at the Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church with women from eighteen states in attendance. The women selected Lucy Thurman of Jackson, Michigan, as president. Thurman was a nationally known lecturer on temperance, and she headed the "colored" department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Selena Sloan

Butler, an Atlanta teacher and wife of a local black physician, gave the welcome, which stressed the importance of the joining together of men and women "for the betterment of humanity and the proper advancement of the country." According to the WCTU's *Union Signal,* "The topics discussed prove that the power which evolves [from] the 'new woman' (using the term in its best sense) is no respecter of color." The titles of speeches suggest the interests of those attending the congress: "How Can the Interests of Northern and Southern Colored Women Be More Strongly Related?" "Christian Patriotism," "Race Enterprise," "Should Afro-Americans Honor John Brown?" "Education of Negro Girls," "What Shall We Do for Our Boys and Young Men?" and "The Opportunities and Possibilities of the Negro Woman." On the second day of the congress, the women heard an address, "What Shall We Do to Employ and Protect Our Girls?" which was followed by a "liberal discussion." None of these titles, however, fully conveys the militant positions that the women took when they got down to business.[120]

African Americans often linked efforts to protect black women to the antilynching campaign, and the Congress on Women discussed both. Throughout the South white men sexually abused black women with impunity, but even the unfounded rumor of a black man's sexual advance toward a white woman could cost him his life. Furthermore, antimiscegenation laws prevented legal recognition of sexual unions across racial lines, a circumstance that left black women no protection even when liaisons were consensual. When he denounced Washington's speech, L. W. Pulies noted sarcastically that the only "forcing of social equality has been on the part of the noble anglo-saxon gentleman" who coerced African American women into sexual relationships. In its criticism of the exposition and the South, the *Washington Bee* had pointed out that "it is lawful for a white brute to ravish a colored girl and a jury to acquit the culprit, but, if a negro is even suspicioned of having committed an assault on a white woman by common consent

he is lynched."[121] At the opening of the Negro Building, J. E. W. Bowen demanded that "justice, sure, unbiased and remorseless, be meted out to all criminals, black and white, who violate the purity of any woman, white or black."[122] The rape of black women and the lynching of black men, like other issues, cut across gender lines and united the race. The Congress on Women joined the chorus against both rape and lynching. The women passed a resolution urging the separation of the sexes on railway cars, a confined public place where women, especially black women, were vulnerable to male strangers. They condemned lynching, but without mentioning the race of victims they also decried "the crime which provokes it."[123]

The Congress on Women addressed a number of other issues. The participants congratulated the Cotton States Exposition on the success of the fair and on providing African Americans an opportunity to demonstrate the progress of the race, but they chastised the administration for permitting the sale of alcohol in the Negro Building's restaurant. They also endorsed the WCTU and condemned "obscene literature, such as the dime novel." In the cause of racial uplift they asked for better-trained teachers in African American schools. They challenged African American women to found orphanages and other social welfare institutions, and they urged the John Brown Monument Association to "establish a farm in his memory for helpless and delinquent children rather than a monument." Deploring the one-room cabin, the women demanded legislation compelling landlords to "improve the homes of tenants" and "to require tenants to be cleanly." They weighed in on even more controversial issues: They condemned segregated railcars and asked state legislatures to institute first and second classes so that black passengers who paid first-class fares would be assured seats in first-class coaches. They denounced the convict lease system. They attacked an article by Rev. S. A. Steele that had been published in the Methodist Episcopal Church South's *Epworth Era*. Steele, a white man, had lauded the civilizing effect of slavery and decried

the immoral, lustful, and insolent "modern negro" whom many southerners, he wrote approvingly, "would put . . . at the bottom of the sea." The women correctly interpreted Steele's words as a call for more lynchings and they reproached him. They insisted that the press use "Mrs." or "Miss" when writing about African American women and capitalize "Negro," which the *Atlanta Constitution* pointedly declined to do when reporting the resolution. The journalist must have been gritting his teeth when he summarized the day's session: "The resolutions altogether strongly set forth the leading thoughts which should have the attention of the race." The headline disingenuously proclaimed, "Negro Women Point Out What Their People Should Do," followed by a subheading that read, "Down on Uncleanliness, One Room Cabins and Other Evils Which Afflict the Colored People," a phrase that failed to capture the sentiments of the congress. Of all the events sponsored by the Negro Building, this was the most militant.[124]

The African American women who spoke out so boldly at the Congress on Women stood in stark contrast to the black employees at the amusement venue known as Midway Heights, located near the Negro Building. One of the most popular attractions was the Old Plantation, complete with "living negroes." At the front of this exhibit was a log cabin originally constructed in 1821 for its white builder's honeymoon. Sherman's army had dismantled it and used the logs in breastworks, but following the war the original owner's son pulled the logs out of the breastworks and reconstructed it as his honeymoon cottage. The cabin had never been slave quarters, but here it was on the midway, representing the "darky section of the old plantation." On the front porch sat "a great fat old negro aunty 'ringin' de bell for a cakewalk.'" In the dialect represented by the *Atlanta Constitution,* she assured the visitor of the attraction's authenticity: "'Dis here am sho 'nough 'possum-eatin' black nigger in here; 'tain't no black-faced white trash." Beyond the cabin

was the crowded auditorium where African American performers entertained with "wit and wisdom," "songs and dances," and "the combination of all in one in the life stirring scene of the 'Cake Walk.'" The cake walk was a parody of ballroom dancing that slaves had performed to amuse their master, who rewarded the best dancers with a cake. One visitor described other features of the performance: "Real negroes are on the platform before us, dancing wildly, and singing in that queer crooning animal way that always makes one look about for the wild beasts of Kipling's jungle stories." They had not left behind their inherent racial characteristics; instead, the savagery of Africa had reemerged.[125]

When President Cleveland strolled down the midway on his visit to Atlanta, the Old Plantation caught his eye. It was the only midway attraction Cleveland "honored with his presence." A woman described as "an old ante-bellum mammy" greeted him as "massa president." As deferential as she appeared, she was not a woman to miss a commercial opportunity. "Pow'ful glad ter see you, massa,' she said, "kase I'm gittin mighty old now an' dese here bones is wracked wid de rhumatiz an' I needs a dime er so to help de ole 'oman out." The presidential party reportedly "came to the assistance of the old woman bountifully." Then a chorus sang for the president. Like many songs associated with slavery, this one had a double meaning: "Tell all the girls de better weep, When I swim ober de riber so deep." Whether the river divided life and death or slavery and freedom is unclear, but for whites the performances at the Old Plantation conjured up nostalgic images of a romanticized past. Like the president, white Atlantans were thrilled by the performances, which, the official history of the exposition claimed, were "as much superior to negro minstrelsy by white men as real life is to acting." The comparison is revealing and leads one to suspect that the depiction of African Americans, rather than the quality of the performance, was the primary attraction. Ignoring the Negro

Building only a few steps away, the *Atlanta Constitution* asserted in one article that the Old Plantation was "the most complete all round representation of the colored race possible to conceive."[126]

White organizers of the Cotton States Exposition sought a unity of North and South that obscured the horrors of slavery and achieved a consensus on the "race problem." The depiction of slavery at the Old Plantation resonated with northern as well as southern whites, since both had been schooled in the sentimentality of Negro spirituals, antics of minstrel shows, and stereotypes of coon songs. Slavery, in their minds, had not been so bad. It had provided the ordered society that, in its absence, industrialization and modernity struggled to achieve. The pleasure that the Old Plantation reportedly afforded Grover Cleveland, a New Yorker, reflected the widespread acceptance among whites nationwide of this benign view of recent history. With slavery as a divisive issue shouldered aside, North and South could reconcile by trumpeting the past heroism of both sides in the Civil War and their unity in facing current problems. The day set aside at the exposition for a reunion of Confederate and Union veterans signaled a desire to move beyond the issue that had divided the country and find a new sense of national purpose that rested on racial consensus. U.S. Senator "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, who led the successful effort to disfranchise African Americans in the 1895 South Carolina constitutional convention, described the basis for unity in his speech at the exposition: "With the Negro problem in the South; with the immigration problem in the North; with the great burden of immigrant and debased foreigners who are up there living in the very dregs of degradation and ignorance and anarchism and communism and all the other isms that go to pull down," the North should let the South lead the way and save the Republic.[127]

As reconciliation emphasized common foes and the shared memory of military heroism, slavery and emancipation in the Civil War receded from public discourse or commemoration.[128]

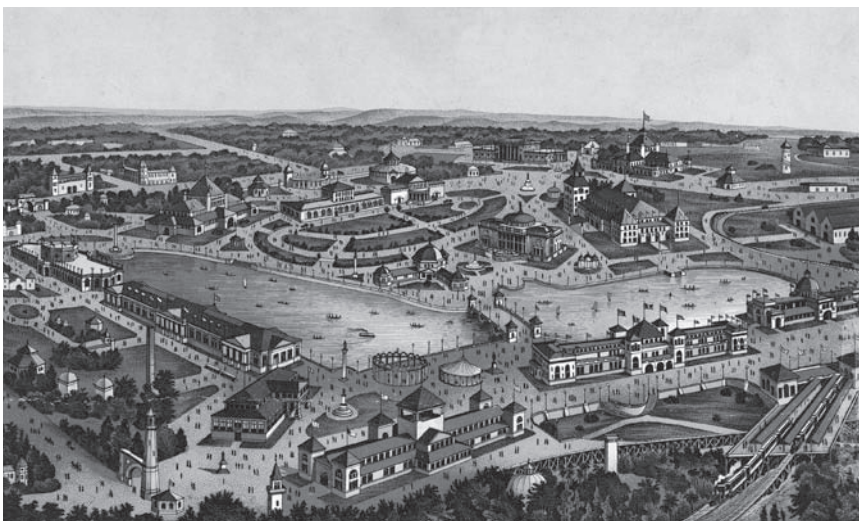
Consequently, another reunion at the Cotton States Exposition received little attention. In the waning days of the fair former slaves gathered at the Negro Building. The *Atlanta Constitution* carried a brief notice of their assembly in patronizing language: the "gray–haired uncle" and "old aunty whose glory was the kitchen" reportedly discussed how much better things had been in olden days and demonstrated manners far superior to those of African Americans who had been born in freedom. Almost as an afterthought the journalist revealed the real purpose of the reunion. These elderly freed people, three decades emancipated, met to organize a mutual aid society whose "purpose was to look out for each other when sick, and to see that on the death of a member he or she would have a respectable burial."[129] They had suffered unspeakable horrors, but in their old age they demonstrated the value they placed on each other, on the community they had built, and on the freedom they had won. Neither they nor their children would surrender easily to white supremacy.

The Cotton States Exposition took place just as African Americans seemed to be losing the struggle for equality. After *Plessy v. Ferguson* paved the way in 1896, southern state legislatures raced to mandate segregation in theaters, hotels and restaurants, water fountains, and restrooms. Disfranchisement escalated as southern states rewrote constitutions, implemented white primaries, and made full use of poll taxes and literacy tests to deprive African American men of their vote. In 1898 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld state statutes that disfranchised blacks in *Williams v. Mississippi*.[130] Lynchings and mob violence that targeted entire communities made resistance to these measures both dangerous and futile. Campaign rhetoric and inflammatory journalism fanned white racism, and in September 1906, little more than a decade after the Cotton States Exposition, a mob invaded the black commercial district in Atlanta, looted shops, destroyed property, and assaulted African Americans in their businesses and on the street. When the shock wore off, the

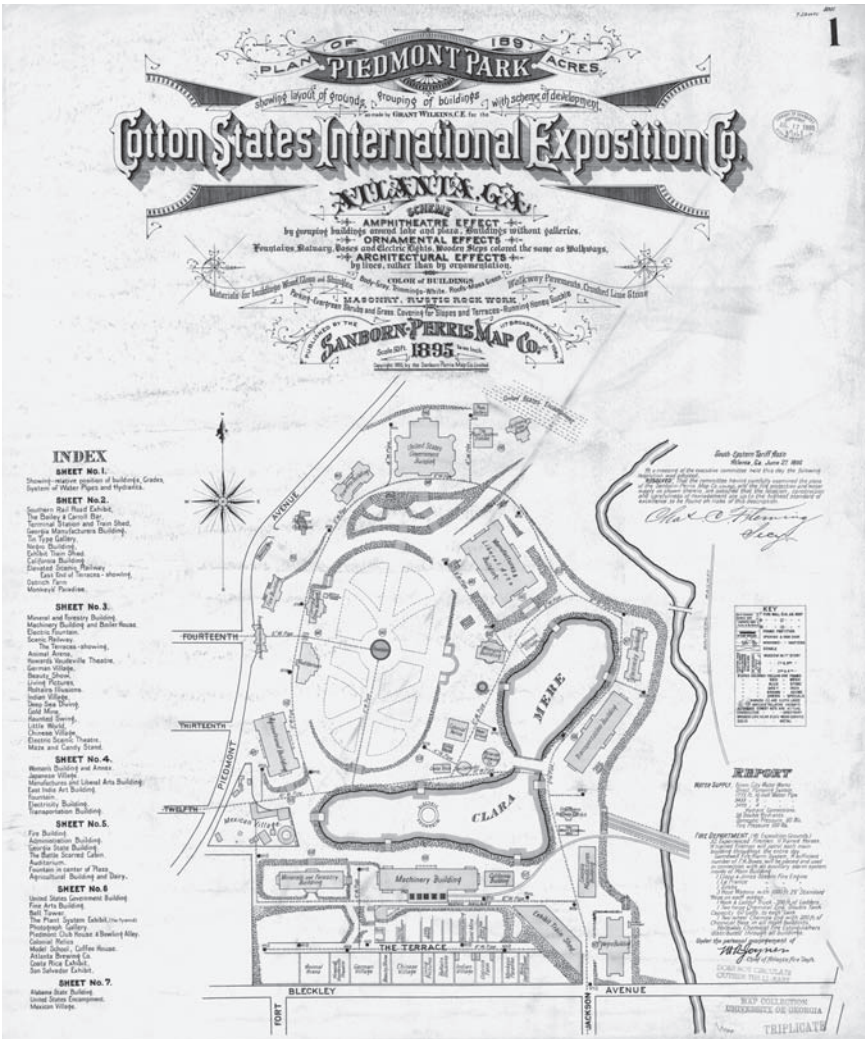
black community organized to defend itself, and in the next assault African Americans greeted the mob with bullets. Atlanta's mayor imposed martial law and called out the state militia. When the battle ended, both blacks and whites lay dead or injured, and property worth countless dollars had been lost. But the African American community had resisted mob violence, an action that remained a source of pride through the dark days of Jim Crow.[131] The resolve and courage that fueled this resistance had deep roots — in slavery, Reconstruction, and perhaps even the Cotton States Exposition.

In 1971, more than three-quarters of a century after the exposition closed, the African American educator Benjamin Mayes wrote in his autobiography, "If Dixie were Atlanta or Atlanta were Dixie, I could sing 'Dixie.'" He contended: "Atlanta is not the typical South. It is better." Mayes associated the song "Dixie" with "all the segregation, discrimination, exploitation, brutality, and lynchings endured for centuries by black people."[132] In 1895 Atlanta was no better than the rest of the South, but for a little more than three months that year, African American people throughout the region made it so. Atlanta whites had tried to use the Cotton States Exposition to define what it meant to be black in Atlanta and the South, but in the end African Americans countered the image that organizers sought to impose on them. Despite the circumscribed opportunities available to them, African Americans used the Cotton States Exposition to stake their claim to a place in the region's future, not just as laborers but as doctors, lawyers, teachers, bankers, ministers, writers, artists, mayors, members of Congress, and even presidents. The discrimination and violence of the next half-century threatened to obscure the point African Americans made there, but ultimately their position triumphed even as memories of the Cotton States Exposition faded. If we look beyond Washington's speech and its message of accommodation, we can see that African Americans conveyed a different vision to visitors at the Cotton States Exposition, one made manifest not in their lifetime but, perhaps, in ours.

Souvenir cotton bale, found at an antique sale in Lexington, Kentucky, that first piqued the author's interest in the Cotton States Exposition. Photograph by author.



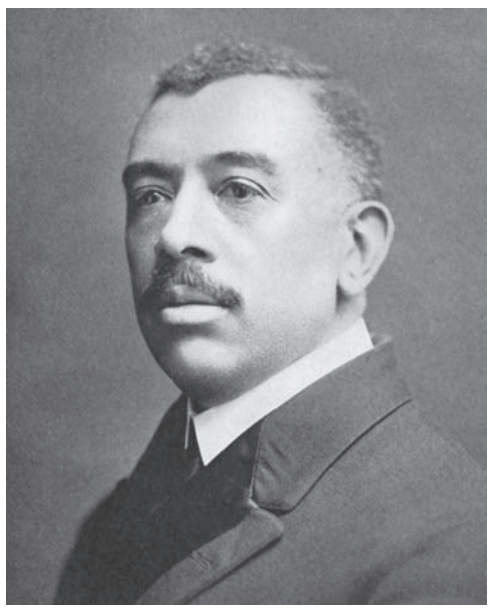
General view, exposition grounds. This rendering is not entirely accurate, but it gives a sense of the size of the exposition and places the Negro Building bottom center, just east of the midway and west of the field where Buffalo Bill performed. From *Souvenir Album of the Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Ga., 1895* (Portland, Me.: Leighton & Frey Souvenir View Co., 1895).



Map of Piedmont Park, site of the Cotton States and International Exposition, 1895, by Sanborn Map Company. University of Georgia Libraries Map Library, Athens, Ga., presented in the Digital Library of Georgia.

ABOVE: Exterior of the Negro Building. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.45.01. BELOW: Group at the Negro Building, Atlanta Exposition. Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Collection, ful0668. Photographer: Benjamin W. Kilburn.

Booker T. Washington, whose speech on opening day has shaped views of the exposition. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. Reproduction number LC-USZ62-25624



I. Garland Penn, the head of the Negro Building. From Clement Richardson, *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (Montgomery, Ala.: National Publishing, 1919), 520.

Interior of the Negro Building, showing *The Negro with Chains Broken but Not Off* by W. C. Hill. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.47.01.

Memphis Exhibit for the Negro Building, Atlanta Exposition, organized by Julia Britton Hooks (whose grandson would lead the NAACP for sixteen years). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Reproduction number LC-USZ62-96280. Photographer: Benjamin W. Kilburn.

Adrienne Herndon, elocution professor at Atlanta University, who recited an ode at the formal opening of the Negro Building. From Carole Merritt, *The Herndons: An Atlanta Family* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 24. Reprinted courtesy of the Herndon Home.

The Old Plantation, a popular midway attraction that romanticized the antebellum South. From Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated* (Atlanta: Illustrator Co., 1896), 91.

Cherokee Training School, 1893, with the band that failed to secure an invitation to perform at the Cotton States Exposition. From Thomas Donaldson and Henry B. Carrington, *Extra Census Bulletin, Indians. Eastern Band of Cherokees of North Carolina* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Printing Office, 1892), facing 15.

Government Building, where the Smithsonian and Office of Indian Affairs had exhibits. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.23.01.

Swimmer (Ayunini), the major informant of anthropologist James Mooney whose collection the Smithsonian exhibited at the exposition. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Neg. 1008. Photographer: James Mooney.

ABOVE: Papago women and children near mud-and-pole house, 1894. This photograph from the Smithsonian collection conveys primitivism and poverty despite the European-style clothing. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Neg. 02787 D. Photographer: William Dinwiddie. BELOW: Seri family eating a meal, 1894. The facial tattoos, partial nudity, and meager material culture construct the Seri as the "other," far removed from modern industrial society. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Neg.04276 A1. Photographer: William Dinwiddie.

Ceremonial dance before a Cherokee ballgame, 1888. Cherokees in largely modern dress participate in a traditional ceremony, suggesting the possibility that Indians could adapt. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Neg. 1044a. Photographer: James Mooney.

Advertisement for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World. Buffalo, N.Y.: Courier Litho. Co., ca. 1896. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Reproduction number LC-USZ62-53794.

Indian Village, a midway attraction. Residents came from the Rosebud Sioux reservation and had survived the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.69.01

Two Strike, a Sioux headman. The photographer's title, "Mr. Lo," comes from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1734), which had become a nineteenth-century trope: "Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind." Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.68.01.

ABOVE: Zapotec Indians from Tehuantepec, Mexico, who performed in the Mexican Village. From *The Atlanta Exposition and South Illustrated* (Chicago: Adler Art Publishing Company, 1893), 184. BELOW: The Esquimaux Village on the midway, home to Inuits (Eskimos) from Alaska. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.78.01.

Japanese Village, located outside the midway because organizers viewed the Japanese as racially superior to other Asian peoples. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.76.01.

View of the exposition from the Phoenix Wheel, Atlanta's version of the Ferris wheel, showing Costa Rica's lakefront pavilion, center left. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.74.01.

The Midway, where most ethnographic villages, theaters, and restaurants were located. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.53.01.

Italian statuary, among the relatively few exhibits sent from Europe. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.34.01.

Performers and livestock from the Streets of Cairo, a midway attraction. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.57.01.

Matadors, whose plan to engage in bullfighting in the Mexican Village provoked controversy. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.77.01.

ABOVE: Women at the Dahomey Village. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.61.01. BELOW: Exterior of the Dahomey Village with a sign advertising the "Amazons" living inside. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.60.01.

Coochee-coochee dancers, who scandalized and titillated fairgoers at the Streets of Cairo. Fred L. Howe Cotton States and International Exposition Photographs, 1895. Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Ga. VIS 145.59.01.

CHAPTER TWO

VANISHING INDIANS

In June 1895 the superintendent of the Cherokee Agency, located in the Great Smoky Mountains 160 miles northeast of Atlanta, wrote Charles Collier, president of the Cotton States Exposition, offering the services of North Carolina's Fourth Regimental Band for one month during the fair. The band consisted of twenty Cherokee boys who attended the Cherokee Training School in Swain County, North Carolina. These brown-skinned dark-haired boys, wearing their braided uniforms, marching in step, and playing their shiny brass instruments, had become a local sensation in western North Carolina, and they were likely to be, the superintendent wrote, "a greater curiosity in Atlanta." In the late nineteenth century music, marching, and uniforms were part of the standard curriculum for Indian boarding schools, which aimed to assimilate Indians into mainstream U.S. society. The Cherokee band represented progress toward that goal, and the trip to the exposition promised an opportunity for the boys to "see and learn a great deal."[1] An invitation to go to Atlanta, however, was not forthcoming. A Cherokee marching band apparently did not exhibit the kind of progress that organizers of the exposition envisioned, and the idea of Indians as part of the New South challenged the biracial society that the exposition extolled. Indians belonged not in the New South but in the past or in the West, and that is exactly where the Cotton States Exposition positioned them.

The organizers of the exposition probably knew little about

the region's Native population. In the 1820s the State of Georgia had taken the lead in demanding the expulsion of Indians from the South. In the flush of universal white manhood suffrage and popular election of governors, Georgia's politicians seized upon Indian removal as an opportunity to advance their careers, and the state's two political factions tried to outdo one another in vitriol, hurled first at the Creeks and then at the Cherokees, whose lands fell within the state's chartered bounds. The defendant in two cases that reached the U.S. Supreme Court — *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) — the state lost the judicial battle but won the political war.[2] The state ignored the Court's acknowledgment of tribal sovereignty and pressed the federal government to remove the Cherokees. A fraudulent treaty followed, and by 1839 virtually all Indians had been expelled or legally converted to white by an act of the state legislature.[3] Georgia emerged victorious, not only in the state's acquisition of Indian land but also in its entrenchment of white power. A half-century later the state's ethnic cleansing was regarded as inevitable, a part of the inexorable course of history.

In 1895, as the Cotton States Exposition was getting underway, a historian whose authoritative voice soon would support that view was beginning his junior year at the University of Georgia. Ulrich B. Phillips is far better known for his *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929), both of which placed race and white racial superiority at the center of southern history, but he addressed removal in his master's thesis at the University of Georgia in 1899 and his dissertation at Columbia University in 1902, which the American Historical Association published. He grounded *Georgia and States Rights* on extensive research in primary sources, and he used political ideology to link the dispossession of the Creeks and Cherokees to secession. Dismissing the Indians as an "inferior race" and disparaging their pretensions to sovereignty, Phillips placed the State of Georgia in opposition to

the United States long before the Civil War and claimed that the federal government had failed to fulfill its obligations to the state by delaying the expulsion of Native peoples.[4]

In the 1830s North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida joined Georgia and expelled the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations, but thousands of Native people remained in the Southeast.[5] Some of these people became detribalized, that is, they ceased to identify with an Indian community, became absorbed into the white or African American population, and maintained only an oral tradition of Native ancestry. Others lived in largely isolated communities scattered across the rural South, and, although they gradually lost many aspects of their contact-era Indian culture, they preserved a social existence as Indians. Still others retained a substantial part of their indigenous culture, ceremonial life, religious beliefs, medical practices, and kinship systems. An astonishing number of southern Indians spoke their own tongues in the late nineteenth century. Languages included Cherokee in North Carolina; Catawba in South Carolina; Choctaw in Mississippi; Biloxi, Ofo, Chitimacha, Tunica, Atakapa, Choctaw, and Koasati in Louisiana; Muskogee and Mikasuki in Florida; and perhaps Muskogee in Alabama. Whatever their cultural survivals, the vast majority of these people lived like other impoverished southerners in the late nineteenth century. They tended to occupy marginal land to which they had questionable or no title and supplemented the food they raised by hunting and fishing, or they sharecropped on white-owned plantations.[6]

The Cotton States Exposition paid little attention to these Indians, but in 1895 the federal government's Office of Indian Affairs, today the Bureau of Indian Affairs, had an interest in some of them. In 1868 Congress had enacted legislation that extended federal protection to land owned by the Eastern Band of Cherokees in western North Carolina. The United States subsequently took the Cherokees' land title in trust and provided services, including

education and health care, to the tribe.[7] In the 1890s the United States, at the urging of white philanthropists, began acquiring land for the Florida Seminoles, although the Indians eschewed any involvement with the federal government and refused to occupy tracts purchased for them.[8] The United States had trust responsibilities for two other Indian communities, although officials either ignored them or were unaware of them. A number of Coushattas had homesteaded public land in Louisiana, and one Coushatta woman established her claim under the Indian Homestead Act of 1884, which guaranteed federal trusteeship.[9] The United States also had a trust responsibility for a private reservation, granted to a Creek Indian in Alabama under the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson, upon which several Creek families lived.[10] In 1895 the United States seemed oblivious to common landholdings of the Chitimachas and Tunica-Biloxis in Louisiana, for whom it later assumed responsibility.[11] Several state Indian reservations of which the United States was aware also existed. Mattaponis and Pamunkeys held reservations in Virginia that dated to the seventeenth century; Catawbas lived on a reservation secured to them by South Carolina in 1840; and the Alabamas and Coushattas in east Texas had received a state reservation in 1854.[12] The United States had no formal relations with tribes on state reservations until the twentieth century, when Catawbas and Alabama-Coushattas received federal recognition.

Housed in the Department of Interior and chronically underfunded, the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) implemented U.S. Indian policy. In the 1890s the OIA was trying to divest itself of most responsibilities through the allotment of land and the assimilation of individuals. Under the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act of 1887, the United States undertook the division of tribal land and its assignment to individuals on the assumption that private property lay at the heart of "civilization." Once Indians received allotments, their tribes ceased to govern them, and they became U.S. citizens. The OIA viewed the purchase of land for the Seminoles

and the preservation of Cherokee tribal lands as temporary measures to alleviate immediate suffering or injustice, not as a permanent arrangement. The United States also supported a system of boarding schools that attempted to educate Native children for the purpose of assimilating them into the U.S. mainstream. When allotment had destroyed both communal land bases and tribal governments, and boarding schools had eradicated Native culture, the OIA could go out of business. The Government Building at the Cotton States Exposition provided an opportunity for the Office of Indian Affairs to showcase its accomplishments in preparing Indians for allotment, citizenship, and assimilation.[13]

Rather than deal with a range of programs that included the administration of reservations and the implementation of allotment or the history of relations between the government and the Indians, the OIA decided to concentrate on Indian education in its exhibit in the Government Building.[14] Indian education in the 1890s followed the system developed by Captain Richard Henry Pratt. In 1875 Pratt had begun a training program for Plains warriors incarcerated at Fort Marion in Florida that combined military discipline, manual training, and basic education. He discovered, much to the surprise of many, that his prisoners could learn both trades and letters. He arranged to transfer several to Hampton Institute, an African American school in Virginia, and in 1879 he opened the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Carlisle provided the model for Indian education — strict discipline, rudimentary formal education, instruction in skills that included blacksmithing and carpentry for boys and needlework and housekeeping for girls, and vacation placements with white families and businesses, often in menial positions. In the push to assimilate Indians in the 1880s and 1890s, the OIA established schools throughout Indian country. The institutions consisted of day schools, residential schools on or adjacent to reservations, like the one at Cherokee, North Carolina, and boarding schools, like Carlisle, far removed from Indian com-

munities. Reformers promoting assimilation through education and allotment came to dominate Indian policy in the 1880s, and they regarded traditional culture as antithetical to assimilation. OIA officials had little interest in cultural traditions beyond their efforts to suppress them, and they sought to portray Indian people as progressing rapidly through government programs intended to educate them and prepare them for citizenship.[15]

For the Cotton States Exposition the commissioner of Indian affairs requested contributions from more than fifty Indian schools, and most sent examples of schoolwork or "industrial work."[16] The *Atlanta Constitution* found that "by far the most interesting part of the government exhibit is that showing the progress of the Indian in the ways of his white brother. . . . There are shoes, harness, clothes and other samples of the perfection to which the Indian has been taught to reach and he is gradually realizing the end for which Uncle Sam has been striving for so many years."[17] To demonstrate the accomplishments of his North Carolina charges, the superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Agency sent needlework produced by young women enrolled in the Cherokee Training School.[18] Unlike the marching band, this exhibit did not involve living people who had to be accommodated in Atlanta, and needlework represented manual labor, not creative expression that implied intellectual parity with whites. The OIA exhibit embodied the philosophy of Indian education that most of its employees shared and that the superintendent for the Cherokees articulated in his annual report: "Industrial training is of ten times more importance than book learning in the education and civilization of the Indians, as not ten in one hundred will ever make a living in the professions, while nearly all will have to rely on their muscle and knowledge of trades, agriculture, etc., for their support."[19]

The views he expressed bore a remarkable resemblance to the academic philosophy of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute and to the sentiments of Judge Emory Speer, a former member of

Congress and dean of Mercer University's law school. In his keynote address on opening day, Speer had insisted that "the opportunity for technical education is the greatest benefaction his friends can bestow on the negro. The skill of the graduate of an industrial school is his capital. He has been taught to appreciate the dignity of labor. . . . How incomparably superior is his condition to that of one of his race who is trained for a profession."[20] In the New South minimal education and menial jobs appropriate to their level of cultural/racial development meant that neither African Americans nor Indians could be the equals of whites. Therefore, assimilation, the official policy of the Office of Indian Affairs, relegated Indians to a subservient position, one with which southern whites felt quite comfortable.

The other federal entity that had an interest in Indians was the Smithsonian Institution, founded in 1846 with a bequest from the Englishman James Smithson for "an Establishment for the increase & diffusion of knowledge." Chartered by Congress, the Smithsonian diffused knowledge through the National Museum in Washington, exhibits at expositions, and publications. It increased knowledge through the employment of scientists whose studies ranged from geology to the nascent discipline of anthropology. Native Americans quickly became a focus of Smithsonian research, in particular, archaeological evidence from the era before European contact.[21] The first volume of *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* published in 1848, was the study of aboriginal earthworks in the Ohio and lower Mississippi valleys.[22] Precontact structures ranging from mounds to cliff dwellings continued to command much interest at the Smithsonian because the relationship between archaeological sites and contemporary Indians was not clear. Many people insisted that the Indians could not possibly have built the elaborate earthworks, but in the 1880s investigators concluded that "the links discovered directly connecting the Indians and moundbuilders are so numerous and well established that there

should be no longer any hesitancy in accepting the theory that the two are one and the same people."[23] Contemporary Indians, however, had given up building the structures or pursuing the arts that researchers found so fascinating and often seemed to be far less "civilized" than their ancestors.

In 1879 Congress established the Bureau of American Ethnology within the Smithsonian in recognition that contemporary American Indians offered "a field for research more extensive, more clearly defined, more completely virgin, and more easily wrought than any other within reach of students working under governmental auspices."[24] Since anthropology did not yet exist as a formal discipline, the BAE hired people from a variety of backgrounds, but all embraced the urgency of their mission. The rapid progress of "civilization" in the late nineteenth century, they thought, doomed Indian culture. Whether Native people assimilated into mainstream society or withered away on their impoverished reservations, their cultures were no longer viable, the ethnographers concluded. Influenced by social Darwinism, ethnographers rushed to document Native cultures before they disappeared. Although evolution implied change, ethnographers doubted that Native cultures could develop further, especially in competition with European "civilization." Consequently, the ethnographers consigned Indians to a static existence that conformed nicely to the demands of a museum. Exhibits presented contemporary Native cultures as examples of earlier stages of human development and European culture as fully evolved.[25]

At the time of the exhibition BAE involvement with the Office of Indian Affairs turned the Smithsonian's gaze to the West. As the United States expanded in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the OIA limited the land and movement of Native people by compelling them to locate on reservations, tracts of land "reserved" for the exclusive use of Indians. The OIA asked the BAE to assist in locating distinct tribes on the same tract with as little

friction (and expense) as possible. The anthropologists at the BAE and the politicians at the OIA shared the conviction that "savage" Indians and "civilized" Americans could not live together, but they also believed that different tribes could be consolidated on a single reservation. In order to do so the OIA charged the BAE with developing a classificatory scheme that made multitribe reservations workable. Ethnographers, many of whom had backgrounds in linguistics, grouped tribes by languages and assumed that other cultural forms followed language.[26] The reservation system that emerged in the West and the policy-driven interest in linguistics had little relevance for the South. Nevertheless, BAE ethnographers occasionally ventured to the South, and the artifacts acquired by one of them, James Mooney, actually showed up in the Cotton States Exposition.

Mooney worked among the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in the 1880s, and he seems to have admired many things about their culture. He historicized rather than racialized their religious beliefs, but, like other ethnologists, he saw cultural death. Mooney discovered that Cherokee medicine men, short of cash and perhaps having been convinced of their culture's impending demise, were willing to part with the books in which they had recorded their sacred formulas in the syllabary that Sequoyah had invented in the 1820s. Mooney gleefully announced his acquisition of these shaman books to the BAE: "Civilization and Christianity are rapidly killing such things." As Cherokees abandoned indigenous beliefs and practices, the BAE stepped in to provide a new home for any material evidence of them. When Mooney's chief informant, Swimmer (Ayunini), died in 1899, the ethnologist eulogized: "Peace to his ashes and sorrow for his going, for with him perished half the tradition of a people."[27] Mooney did not speculate about what proportion was at the Smithsonian.

The Smithsonian's exhibit at the Cotton States Exposition occupied more than five thousand square feet in the southeast corner of

the Government Building. At the entrance to the exhibit the visitor found information about the Smithsonian — a portrait of the Smithsonian secretary (as the director was called), the institution's publications, photographs of some of its projects, and a map locating its twenty-four thousand correspondents. Nearby a "portrait statue" of Osceola, based on the painting by George Catlin done during Osceola's lifetime, greeted fairgoers. The Smithsonian styled Osceola a "Native son" of Georgia, born on the Chattahoochee River, which flows through Atlanta and forms Georgia's southwest boundary. He and his mother had fled Georgia along with other Creeks in the aftermath of the 1813 Creek War and settled in Florida, where he became a Seminole. Commemorating Osceola seems a bit insensitive, even if he was born in Georgia, which he probably was not. After all, he precipitated the Second Seminole War in 1835 by killing the U.S. agent to the Seminoles, Wiley Thompson, a Georgian who previously had served in the state legislature and as a representative from Georgia in Congress. The United States had captured Osceola under a flag of truce and imprisoned him at Fort Moultrie near Charleston, South Carolina, where he sat for several artists, including Catlin, before the warrior died. Following his death, many Americans sought a piece of Osceola — his painted image, clothing, weapons, items of personal adornment, hair, and even his head, which the physician attending him removed before interment, reportedly displayed in the doctor's drugstore in St. Augustine, and presented to a famous New York surgeon for his collection of craniums.[28]

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the story of Osceola's earlier fight for his homeland took on special significance, and southerners began to regard him as the victim of a rapacious foe. An article in the *Atlanta Constitution* linked the heroic defense of Fort Moultrie by the Americans in the Revolution and the Confederates in the Civil War with the imprisonment of Osceola. Like the patriots and the rebels, Osceola, "one of the bravest and noblest of warriors,"

was fighting for independence. The article excoriated the United States, which the author implied did not really include the South, for the circumstances of Osceola's capture: "What a blush of shame it should call to every honest cheek when we remember that we 'owe allegiance' to the government that committed such a deed."[29] Southerners may have lost the Civil War militarily, but they considered southern values to be the real bedrock of liberty and incorporated an Indian defense of the South into a seamless historical narrative, one that found its heroes in unusual places.

Beyond Osceola lay an L-shaped corridor with alcoves on each side containing exhibits intended to give the visitor a sample of the Smithsonian's "treasures" and a sense of how the great museum studied and classified its holdings. The first two alcoves held mammals organized in "the manner in which they are classified by naturalists" and "mounted in the best style of modern taxidermy." Subsequent alcoves featured birds, fish, insects, and other categories of animals, followed by minerals, metals, plants, and assorted other exhibits. Separating the alcoves were cases that held "twelve of the most characteristic types of the human species," not stuffed but sculpted out of plaster. Reflecting an obsession with categorization, the Smithsonian grouped the lavishly costumed figures into "Black Types" (Papuan from New Guinea, Australian Aborigines, Zulu from South Africa), "Brown-Red Types" (American Indian from Peru, Dyak from Borneo, Maori of New Zealand), "Yellow Types" (Eskimo from Hudson's Bay, Tibetan, and Siamese), and "White Types" (Arab sheik, Armenian, and Berber from Morocco).[30]

The progression was probably intentional and significant — from least to most evolved — although it is the opposite of the stuffed animals', which began with the mammals, generally considered the most complex category short of humans. The example of the American Indian, a Jivaro man from the Amazon basin of Peru, did not look much like any Indian most fairgoers had ever seen. Designers had modeled the figure on a painting by a Peruvian artist

and dressed it in a costume acquired by the naturalist W. E. Safford while he was serving in the U.S. Navy. The Jivaro mannequin wore only a bark apron adorned with tropical bird feathers and sported anklets of "seeds, beetle wings, and teeth of monkey and puma." The decision to use a particularly exotic example and to place it among other skimpily clothed figures with fantastic accouterments — the Dyak wore a sarong and carried a shield decorated with tufts of human hair — located American Indians among "primitive" peoples, better suited for a glass display case than the New South.

At the end of the corridor lined with black, brown-red, and yellow men — the Siamese and the white types were around the corner — was the exhibit of the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology. This display featured "a small, carefully selected collection of implements and objects used by man in prehistoric times, the specimens being mostly American." Prehistory had lasted much longer in the Americas than elsewhere since the Smithsonian defined that era as "before written history was begun in the locality or country under consideration." Egypt with its hieroglyphics had a much longer "history," therefore, than did North America, to which Europeans presumably brought literacy. The Smithsonian acknowledged that Charles Darwin's theory of evolution had sparked interest in the early stages of human cultural development and pointed out that artifacts held greater promise for discovery than skeletal remains. Curators first organized the objects on display by type — wood, stone, shell, metal, ceramic — and then grouped them by region. Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery from Europe, therefore, occupied space adjacent to nineteenth-century Native pottery from the United States, Mexico, and South America. Modern Native American cultures occupied the same level of evolutionary development as European cultures that were thousands of years older.

In the angle of the ell the University of Pennsylvania Museum contributed a special exhibit on the history of playing cards and

chess. Following the evolutionary model, the display began with "the primitive forms" and traced changes down to "the games of the present day." The curator thought the origin of cards lay in the Americas, where Indians used feathered and marked shafts "in fortune-telling." Some Natives, such as the Haidas of Vancouver Island, continued to gamble with gaming sticks "even at the present day." However, the inventors had not been able to progress: "The Indians did not get beyond the use of carved and painted staves." Elsewhere, including Korea, China, and Japan, people managed to develop real cards, and the exhibit presented "a single pack of the national cards of each of the principal countries in the world." The grand finale was a pack of cards bearing pictures of the Chicago Exposition and another "with pictures of the confederate flag, made in England for sale in the South during the war." Similarly, the chess exhibit began with "the divinatory games of primitive people" and followed the "evolution of the game."

Bizarrely enough, Indians next crop up in the Smithsonian's Department of Oriental Antiquities and Religious Ceremonials, which presented "objects illustrative of the Bible." On display was a New Testament that Thomas Jefferson had chronologically arranged and annotated. He reportedly intended it for "translation into the Indian languages, so that the Gospels might be presented to the Indians in a simple form." The Department of Technology, which occupied the adjoining alcove, confirmed the simplicity of Indian cultures by placing a dugout canoe at the beginning of its display of means of conveyance. Finally at Alcove O the visitor reached the site that focused most directly on American Indians.

The Bureau of American Ethnology exhibit of "representative Indian tribes of North America" won the grand prize and a gold medal at the exposition.[31] The curator selected three tribes — the Cherokees, the Papagos, and the Seris — each of which represented a distinct linguistic family. He chose the Papagos (Tohono O'odham) and the Seris (Comcáac) because "they are little known

and the collections are quite new." The Cherokees appeared in the exhibit because of their "local interest" as "the first occupants of the site of Atlanta." Fairgoers knew about the Cherokees from the state's history, oral tradition, and even geography, and some probably had read the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which had many individual subscribers to its bulletins and reports. By 1895 the BAE had published two works that dealt specifically with the Cherokees, Charles C. Royce's "The Cherokee Nation of Indians" and James Mooney's "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees."[32] As for the exhibit at the Cotton States Exposition, the BAE could not have provided a greater contrast than that between the Cherokees and the other two tribes selected.

The Papagos lived in the desert of the Southwest and subsisted by seasonal migration. Despite the arid environment, they managed to cultivate corn, beans, and other produce, but when crops matured and waterholes dried up, they moved to sites where they could supplement their crops with a host of exotic wild foods such as cactus and mesquite beans. In winter they hunted in the mountains of northern Mexico. Although the Papagos had adopted aspects of Euro-American material culture, the exhibit displayed pottery, basketry, and costumes that represented "the aboriginal condition of the tribe." Placing the Papagos on the evolutionary scale, the curator noted that their "crude plow," was "akin to that of ancient Egypt." Egypt, however, had progressed while many of the items on display "were those found in actual use among the Indians last autumn." Glass cases contained "life-size models of Papago women engaged in pottery making" and "models of the Papago habitations, which are commonly built of a peculiar grass over a frame of mesquite poles, more rarely of adobe."

The Seri people inhabited Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California. "They are probably the most primitive Indians remaining in North America," concluded the curator. "They are without agriculture, and have no domestic animals." They subsisted by

hunting, fishing, and gathering, and were so "primitive" that they reportedly ate their meat raw. Ethnologists previously knew little about the Seris because of "their war-like and treacherous character," but an expedition the preceding year had returned with examples of their entire material culture except fishing boats and nets. This included bow and arrow, face paint, pottery, baskets, pelican-skin robes, and "their exceedingly meager series of implements and utensils." A glass case contained a lifesize model of a Seri hunter. A physical description noted their height, "robustness of chest, slenderness of arms and legs, and dark color of the skin."

Photographs accompanied the two exhibits. William Dinwiddie, the photographer, had captured the material culture of both groups on glass plates, and these permitted the visitor to contextualize the items on display. Half-naked Seri children and adults crouched before their brush houses and demonstrated the few implements they had. The overwhelming visual impression is abject poverty: only the discarded shells of sea turtles leaning against a house suggest any source of subsistence. Facial tattoos on scantily clad Seris further exoticized them and excused the visitor's voyeurism. Papago people, on the other hand, dressed like many non-Indians in the Southwest, although a few photographs revealed men stripped to the waist and dressed in short pants for a ballgame. Their houses, however, were reed and mud, and their material culture consisted largely of enormous handmade baskets and jars. A scraggly patch of corn occasionally formed the background of photographs, but the environment seemed generally inhospitable to cultivation. Indeed, the starkness of the landscapes in which the photographs located Seris and Papagos reflected the presumed barrenness of their cultures.[33]

No photographs at the Cotton States Exposition illustrated Cherokee life. Although James Mooney had taken a number of photographs when he conducted fieldwork among the Cherokees in the 1880s, they did not appear in the exhibit. The forested land-

scape of the southern Appalachians would have provided a stark contrast to the desert of the Southwest. The people Mooney photographed, with their dark skin and straight black hair, resembled Seris and Papagos, but their clothing looked pretty much like that of non-Indian Appalachians — shirts, trousers, suspenders, and jackets for men; calico dresses, aprons, and shawls for women. Their dwellings were log cabins or frame houses, and they purchased many of their implements and utensils at a local store. Mooney had sought out surviving elements of traditional Cherokee society: the medicine man Swimmer had posed with a kerchief wrapped as a turban around his head and a gourd rattle in his hand; a family gathered outside its cabin, where a wooden mortar and pestle stood in the yard, a cane blowgun leaned against the cabin, and a ballstick was lodged in the chinking; ballplayers prepared for a game while women lined up to dance. Mooney's photographs reveal a blend of indigenous and acquired practices and a people who had worked out a satisfactory cultural accommodation in their mountain home.[34] The photographs might have conveyed the message that Cherokee culture was not vanishing and that it was compatible with the modern world.

Instead, the exhibit assured visitors that Cherokee culture was disappearing and that merely "a few" Cherokees remained on their reservation in western North Carolina. Reluctant perhaps to offend its Georgia hosts, the Bureau of American Ethnology neglected to mention where most Cherokees had gone. The state's role in the expulsion of the Cherokee Nation from its homeland and the tragic Trail of Tears were nowhere to be found. Mooney had collected the artifacts on display, and the curator pointed out that the ethnographer had acquired both "ancient" and "modern" items. The curator regarded many of the items as "accultural (or affected by the influence of the higher race) [but] many illustrate fairly the aboriginal ideas of the Indians of southeastern United States." In his report on the exhibit the curator emphasized the Cherokees' association with

primitivism and the past. The pottery and baskets were "largely of primitive types," the bow and arrow carried the descriptor "aboriginal," the blowgun "attracted much interest among the earliest white explorers," and masks and rattles were part of the "paraphernalia of primative [*sic*] ceremonials."[35] Like the artifacts, the Cherokees were remnants of the past who had little place in the modern South.

This kind of depiction of Indians had drawn intense criticism at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Emma Sickel, originally hired to help mount Indian exhibits in the Anthropology Building at Chicago, lost her position because she vociferously objected to the portrayals of Indians. "Every effort has been put forth to make the Indian exhibit mislead the American people," Sickel charged. "It has been used to work up sentiment against the Indian by showing that he is either savage or can be educated only by government agencies." She had seen schools, churches, orphanages, towns, and political institutions established in Indian Territory by the five tribes removed from the Southeast in the 1830s, but these Indian-directed accomplishments received no attention in Chicago. By contrast, the only Indians represented at the fair were "savages or school children."[36] Sickel could have made precisely the same observation about the depiction of Native people at the Cotton States Exposition.

The final display of the Smithsonian came from the Department of Ethnology, which was separate from the Bureau of American Ethnology. Here the visitors found wax "groups of Indian figures, clothed in their native costumes, and engaged in their customary occupations." A Sioux man, "in full war paint" and a feathered headdress that swept the ground, sat astride his "gaily housed pony." Kiowas packed their belongings on a horse-drawn travois, described as a "primitive appliance," while Navajo women wove a blanket. A Crow man applied paint to his blanket, and a Chippewa man inscribed a piece of birch bark. Indians from Prince Rupert Sound conducted a ceremony that featured "an Indian who is personating

a cannibal." The curator made sure that the details were authentic by consulting with ethnologists who had done fieldwork among the people represented. Franz Boas, who later challenged many of the assumptions on which the exhibit rested, designed the Fort Rupert group.[37] The motionless figures at the end of the Smithsonian's exhibit provided a kind of symmetry with the stuffed mammals at the beginning, but the Smithsonian used evolution far more overtly in its depiction of culture than in its biological exhibits. By focusing on women, the remaining space in the Department of Ethnology's alcove drove home the message that "primitive cultures" represented an earlier stage of development.

Rebecca Latimer Felton, a Georgian who had served on the Board of Lady Managers at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, had found the representation of women at that fair disappointing. As chair of the Chicago board's agriculture committee, she visited all the farming exhibits to determine what percentage focused on women and discovered that everything women did "was submerged in men's work." In her memoir she conveyed the frustration she felt at this omission: "Since the Indians occupied America, women have had active service in crude agriculture, and have done their share up to date in domestic service, yet there was still no regard given to her activities."[38] When the directors of the Cotton States Exposition appointed Felton chair of the executive committee for the Woman's Building, she was determined to broaden the representation of women beyond her specific charge. She wrote Hoke Smith, a Georgian who was serving as secretary of the interior, to request that an exhibit mounted by the Smithsonian in the Woman's Building in Chicago be duplicated in Atlanta. She described the display as a "most interesting exhibit of the work of the aboriginal women of America."[39] Because Congress had appropriated funds solely for exhibits in the Government Building, she advised that it be located there rather than the Woman's Building, an arrangement that suited the Smithsonian.[40]

Felton probably felt relief at having Indian women displayed some place other than the Woman's Building. She believed that the Woman's Building should exhibit "the progressive, the artistic, the scientific, the literary and industrial progress of our modern civilization."[41] There was no room for women from "primitive" societies in the Woman's Building. At the same time Felton expressed a romantic sentimentalism in regard to Indians, an emotion similar to that which contributed to the Hiawatha revival in the late nineteenth century. As a resident of Cartersville for forty years, she recognized that she lived on land that had belonged to the Cherokees. She had sympathy for "these aboriginal citizens who were driven from their homes into exile and who died by the thousands in the painful and enforced transit to the West."[42] Perhaps she saw a similarity between the Cherokees and Confederates: both loved their land and both suffered defeat. In a description of Sherman's burning of Atlanta, she used remarkably similar language: "Inhabitants [were] driven into exile, and their homes, 'palace and hovel,' left blackened monuments of barbarism and cowardice."[43] She described herself as "an enthusiast upon the early beginnings of our Indian races in America" and thought that "this subject has never received the tenderness or the sympathy of our white race as it should have." Through this exhibit she hoped to "awaken renewed interest in the minds of our people to the merits and importance of these aboriginal citizens."[44] Felton had no apparent interest in contemporary Indians; her concern was memorializing a past that resonated with her own.

Otis T. Mason of the Smithsonian, who recently had published *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture,* curated the exhibit on women. Mason included "implements for basket-making, pottery, weaving, bead-work, sewing, agricultural implements, and appliances for burden-bearing." His choices reflected his views of the role of women in social evolution: "In that continual struggle called Progress or Culture men have played the militant part, women the

industrial part."[45] In her letter urging the inclusion of Mason's exhibit in the Cotton States Exposition, Felton had put the relative contributions of men and women in somewhat starker terms: "No history of America will ever reach the high standard which justly belongs to veritable history until the story of the heroic aboriginal woman *who did all the work* while the brave warrior did all the fighting, is told."[46] Mason's research on women's work supported Felton's claims. Women built and furnished houses, made clothing, constructed baskets, gathered and prepared food, made pottery, and cared for children. They were, in short, "the first beasts of burden." Mason designed the exhibit to show "the paths along which the sex has traveled in past times" because he thought that "a study of modern savagery is a guide to the activities of our own race in primitive times."[47] Linking savagery and race, Mason pointed out in his book that "the method of living in each age of the world survives and is propagated into the succeeding ages" with women still pursuing many occupations engaged in "long ago by dusky savages of their own sex." The "emancipation and exaltation of women," he wrote, "are the synonym of progress."[48]

Modern white southern ladies had progressed far beyond the grueling existence of "savage" women: they supposedly had been emancipated from such labor. Lest her contributions to the Cotton States Exposition be deemed "work," Felton declined an offer from the finance committee of the exposition to pay her $100 per month and agreed to accept reimbursement only for expenses. This arrangement enabled her to construe her contribution as benevolent rather than productive and herself as "civilized" rather than "savage."[49]

The government exhibits complemented each other. Those of the Smithsonian distinguished between "primitive" and "modern" society and drove home the point that "primitive" cultures had no real place in the modern world. Their value lay in providing modern society with information about its own evolution, but nowhere did

the ethnologists hold out hope that "primitive" societies might follow their own evolutionary course and "progress" to parity with societies originating in Europe. The Office of Indian Affairs dismissed the value of Native cultures altogether and focused its exhibit on efforts to eradicate this challenge to modernity. Indian people might survive but only if they abandoned their own cultural traditions and assimilated into the dominant society. The preparation they received in the OIA schools showcased at the Cotton States Exposition determined the position they would occupy in that society — one as manual and often menial laborers. OIA schools trained them for jobs with little future for the worker, either in Indian communities or in a rapidly industrializing society.

The Smithsonian and the Office of Indian Affairs represented and reinforced broader intellectual trends in U.S. culture, so they were not alone in depicting Indians as relics of the past or objects for assimilation. Individual and business exhibits at the Cotton States Exposition included Indian artifacts as well as contemporary products from Indian communities. The Smithsonian and other research institutions had no monopoly on archaeological excavations, and many citizens, including Georgia's own Charles Colcock Jones, conducted research into the prehistory of their communities.[50] The exposition had its share of arrowheads and other items mined from ancient sites as well as items acquired from historic peoples. The Woman's Building, where historical commemoration was centered, had so many requests for exhibit space for Native artifacts that its management formed the Committee on Indian Prehistoric Relics and Curios.[51]

The most notable entry was the prize-winning collection of Daniel B. Dyer, a former Indian agent to the Modocs, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, who collected the material culture of indigenous peoples "unspoiled by civilization." The Woman's Building housed the Dyer Indian collection in an annex where it "attracted much attention."[52] Artifacts associated with Tecumseh were also a big

draw. The Tennessee exhibit featured his pipe, which was "captured at Tippecanoe by Colonel [Richard] Johnson," while Pennsylvania displayed the pistol that killed the Shawnee warrior in 1816 at the Battle of the Thames.[53] The possessions of less famous Indians also found a home at the exposition, especially if they had a good story associated with them. F. W. Copeland of Lafayette, Georgia, an attorney and collector of artifacts, exhibited two pipes he had received from a visiting Cherokee whom he had defended against a charge of seducing a white woman. Although the court cleared the man, who wanted to redeem the woman's reputation by marrying her, he fled when a lynch mob began forming. On his way out of town he paid Copeland for his legal services with a large pipe that had belonged to the Cherokee's father and a smaller one that, the man said, had "come from my grandfather's grave."[54] In the popular vein only an Indian traveling man was likely to carry around a two-generation-old stone pipe in the late nineteenth century. He had not evolved nor had his people, who remained inextricably linked to the past. McDonald Furman of South Carolina pointed to the Catawbas' "past greatness and proud history" when he recommended that commissioners include contemporary Catawba "pottery, pipes, basket and wicker work" in the state's exhibit.[55] The lines separating prehistoric, historical, and contemporary Indian people were blurred.

Popular interest in collecting Indian artifacts and the desire of museums to build their collections fueled a market in the relics of "primitive" cultures. The Cotton States Exposition provided an opportunity for both purveyors and purchasers of artifacts. Sally Hairston Redd offered to sell the Woman's Building the "Pipe of Peace" that John Smith and Powhatan had smoked. Her husband had invested heavily in a bank that failed, and she needed the money. She authenticated the pipe with a family tree showing that her husband, James, was descended from Pocahontas. Mrs. Hugh Nelson Page of Norfolk ultimately acquired the pipe and sent it to the ex-

position for display.[56] The relic trade extended beyond individuals to the nation's most prestigious institutions. The deputy U.S. marshal in Tennessee offered to sell his collection to the Smithsonian, whose secretary provided the collection's provenance to the curator of prehistoric archaeology: "Having a fondness for research, he has opened many mounds and has collected a great number of pieces of pottery, including bowls, pipes, bone implements, ornaments, hair pins, stone hatchets, spears and other prehistoric implements." The Smithsonian purchased a number of items from other exhibitors at the fair, including war clubs, an Apache buckskin quiver, stone tomahawks, and strings of Navajo beads, and acquired a Chippewa birch bark canoe from the Interior Department exhibit.[57]

Artistic representations of Indians appeared in various forms at the Cotton States Exposition. Georgia, for example, displayed "a huge picture of [Creek] Chilly McIntosh painted in some nondescript Indian dress." Chilly was the son of William McIntosh, whom the Creeks had executed in 1825 for signing a treaty ceding Creek land in Georgia, and the young man had left Georgia for Indian Territory with a party of Creeks in the late 1820s.[58] The exhibition of his portrait signaled Georgia's approval not only of his father's actions but also his own. Both had done the bidding of whites, and the portrait conveyed the message that Indians had been complicit in their own dispossession. Those who had gone west, not those who remained, deserved recognition at the exposition.[59]

The most spectacular depiction of Georgia's Indian past never materialized, but the plans suggest the chauvinism and ethnocentrism involved in the production. A "beautiful historic spectacular play" intended to present Hernando de Soto's expedition through the Southeast from 1539 to 1542. In the original script the "high born Spanish grandees" of the expedition captured a "beautiful Indian queen," vanquished a "superior race of Indians" in Georgia, and then "fought a desperate battle with the Indians" near Mobile, Alabama. Within weeks the plot had metamorphosed into "the

efforts of De Soto and Isabella to defeat the schemes, jealousies, and ambitions of Pizarro, Balboa, and a beautiful Indian princess." Ponce de Leon appeared throughout as a "tender minor chord." As the virginal Isabella, whom the Incas had captured, was about to be sacrificed in Peru before a cast of hundreds, she proclaimed her Christianity, and her faith held the priests at bay until de Soto arrived to save her. That was only one act. In other scenes the murderous heathens and gallant conquistadores danced to music composed by John Philip Sousa and sang a song written by Joel Chandler Harris. The *Atlanta Constitution* reported, "The play abounds in comedy." Whether the comedy was intentional is not clear. No one, except perhaps the organizer, was surprised when the "airy scheme" collapsed.[60]

Popular fascination with Indians, even those who supposedly sacrificed virgins, made Indians a good marketing device for exhibitors at the Cotton States Exposition. Frank Stranahan, who owned a store in Fort Lauderdale, sent items that his Seminole customers had made and sold to him, along with pelts, hides, and plumes, so they could purchase traps, guns and ammunition, clothing and fabrics, canned goods, coffee, sugar, and salt. Stranahan's display served as an advertisement for his adjoining tourist camp, which provided overnight accommodations for intrepid travelers to south Florida. The number of visitors to the region was about to increase substantially with the completion of Henry Flagler's railroad, and Stranahan sought their business. The exoticism of his Seminole customers lured the adventurous traveler, while the handcrafted palmetto baskets and mats he exhibited portrayed a domesticity that assured more timid tourists that these Indians were peaceful and productive.[61]

At least two Native entities used the Cotton States Exposition to introduce the public to their products. The White Earth Chippewas from Minnesota provided a sample of lace that they had made, and they won a bronze medal from the exposition's Decorative Arts

Department. When Sybil Carter, an Episcopal missionary, had arrived at White Earth in the 1880s, reservation poverty and the lack of opportunity for Indian women appalled her, so she began teaching Chippewa women to make lace. She organized eastern white women into an Indian Lace Association to support the endeavor, and she used her church connections to market the lace.[62] These Indian women did not display their lace merely to demonstrate the feasibility of their civilization. Like other entrepreneurs, they sought markets for their lace collars, trimmed handkerchiefs, and antimacassars. Their ethnicity added a touch of exoticism to this nineteenth-century marker of class and heightened the appeal of their product to easterners who were increasingly susceptible to commercial images of Indians. At the same time the lace was handmade by women in their homes, not manufactured in factories by machine, and it provided a confirmation that Indians represented the past, not the future.

The other commercial display from Indians was more disconcerting than the finely crafted lace. The Chickasaw Asphalt Company from Indian Territory, today Oklahoma, exhibited at the exposition. Asphalt, used as a binder in the construction of roads, represented the future even more than the railroads on which exposition organizers thought progress rested. How the Chickasaw Asphalt Company came to exhibit in Atlanta is unclear, but the decision perhaps stemmed from the activities of Lee Clinton, the son of a white man and a Creek woman. Clinton lived in Indian Territory, but he attended Young Harris Institute in North Georgia. He caught exposition fever, then returned home in the spring of 1895 determined to secure an Indian Territory exhibit. He found little interest among his countrymen, who were preoccupied with the threat of allotment, but he managed to secure a pledge of support from Creek chief L. C. Perryman. Clinton proposed to charter a railcar and bring "some of the blanket Indians and some of the educated ones" to Atlanta, and, although his scheme

went nowhere, it did raise awareness among Indians of the exposition. Subsequent interest from Indian Territory came from Rev. Robert W. Hill, a Presbyterian minister whom U.S. District Judge William M. Springer appointed to chair an exposition commission. Springer had only just arrived in Indian Territory in 1895, and perhaps he brought some of the enthusiasm for expositions with him from Illinois, which he previously had represented in Congress for twenty years. Serving with Hill on the commission were Pleasant Porter, a Creek, and Joseph Thompson, who was Cherokee. Indian Territory had no money for an exhibit, but the commission hoped to promote trade with Atlanta. Perhaps the single commercial exhibit by the Chickasaw Asphalt Company represented an effort to expand commercial relations. If so, nothing came of it because by the next year the company had gone bankrupt. Nevertheless, its presence at the Cotton States Exposition provided an opportunity to realize the goal articulated by Clinton: "The Indians are anxious for their progress to be known." Indian nations, however, defined progress in terms of their own cultural values. Although the company was a private entity that the tribe licensed to extract and market asphalt, coal and asphalt belonged to the Chickasaw Nation. Even allotment did not deprive the Chickasaws of this communally held resource.[63]

The disparate private exhibits scattered throughout the exposition represented both the diversity of contemporary Native North America and the reluctance of non-Indians to accept that diversity. The prehistoric and the present, the Incas and the Native people of the Southeast blended together in an essentialized Indian who belonged elsewhere and appeared at the Cotton States Exposition primarily as a curiosity against which southerners could chart their own progress. Organizers had little interest in the cultural changes that accounted for lace makers and asphalt companies. Within a few years these enterprises failed, and such failure provided proof

to non-Indians that Native people could not compete. Visitors to the exposition were much more comfortable with the Indian ensconced in the past or exiled to a remote corner of the country than with the Indian who adapted to and even embraced the modern world. Modernity, most non-Indians believed, had no place for Indians, but a sense of themselves as modern demanded an understanding and even appreciation of the premodern. Indians at the Cotton States Exposition helped provide that contrast. The growing obsession with prehistoric Indian cultures, abundantly represented at the Cotton States Exposition, would spawn successful economic ventures, most notably, the Pocola Mining Company, which systematically looted Spiro Mounds in eastern Oklahoma in the 1930s.[64] Appealing to a stereotype of the vanished Indian, these enterprises stood in stark contrast to the toehold in an industrial economy that some Indians sought.

The lifeless models and inert objects on display at the Cotton States Exposition conveyed the primitivism and savagery of indigenous peoples but not nearly as dramatically as the real Indians who appeared on the midway in Atlanta. Buffalo Bill, who had not appeared in Atlanta for eighteen years, came to the fair with his "great ethnological exhibit founded on the stirring scenes of western borderlands." The Wild West was at its height of popularity. Buffalo Bill had performed for Queen Victoria during her jubilee of 1887, and two years later he toured Europe. Although the Columbian Exposition had excluded him from the fairgrounds, he had set up his tents nearby and drew huge crowds. Buffalo Bill expanded the show's name to "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World" and added horsemen ranging from Arabs to members of the U.S. Cavalry. The *Atlanta Constitution* assured readers that, despite its unofficial status in Chicago, the Wild West show had been "'the key to all,' and was voted the most genuine of ethnological exhibits from its composition of so many races and na-

tionalities."[65] A consummate showman given to hype, Buffalo Bill promised Atlanta a far more spectacular show — six hundred horses and eight hundred performers — than he had put on in Chicago.[66]

In his show William F. Cody, or "Buffalo Bill," exploited his public image as an Indian fighter, pony express rider, and scout, but ironically another dimension of his persona made him attractive to fair organizers. Buffalo Bill had served in the U.S. Army in the Civil War, and he was a member of the Union veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic. His performances invoked a number of patriotic themes and symbols, not the least of which was the display of the U.S. flag and the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner." By 1895, however, he had embraced the cause of national reconciliation. In 1888 he had attended the dedication of a monument to Confederate general George Pickett in Richmond, and Cody had played repeatedly to large audiences across the South. Furthermore, Cody's chief scriptwriter was a former Confederate soldier from Mississippi, and one of the scripts the Wild West show enacted in 1892 concluded with the lynching of a horse thief. As Joy S. Kasson points out in her book on Buffalo Bill, "thematically, the Wild West resonated with Southern preoccupations. Hard riding, marksmanship, individual heroism, the battle between 'civilization' and 'savagery' were all familiar themes in the South."[67]

Like Buffalo Bill, the Cotton States Exposition promoted reconciliation, and it organized a joint encampment of Confederate and Union soldiers. In an attempt to move beyond Civil War enmity, southerners sought opponents in common with their northern brethren, and Indians often fit the bill. In an article reporting on the Confederate reunion in Chattanooga that immediately preceded such a gathering at the Cotton States Exposition, the *Atlanta Constitution* noted that the Civil War had hardly ended when a new national struggle for "supremacy over the savage aborigine" began. "That strife, too, produced its heroes": General George Armstrong Custer, General Nelson A. Miles, and Buffalo Bill.[68]

Buffalo Bill's Wild West arrived on October 27 by rail, and employees immediately set to work erecting huge tents on twenty acres graded by convicts, who got to attend one of the show's performances. The following day the company paraded through downtown Atlanta. For fair visitors who found the displays elsewhere a bit tame, sterile, or downright boring, the *Atlanta Constitution* assured its readers that "there are enough Indians in Buffalo Bill's show to start another Seminole War." Never mind that the Indians in the show were from the Plains, not the Everglades. In addition to "several hundred Indians covered with their hideous war paint" (actually sixty-two), the show included cowboys, Mexicans, Arabs, gauchos, "American Negroes," the sure shots Annie Oakley and Johnnie Baker, and Cossack, German, French, and Irish horsemen. The Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders emphasized the martial arts, which, except for the sharpshooting of Annie Oakley, belonged to men. The *Constitution*'s report of the show had men "dash" and "charge" into the arena while "Indian squaws troop in," a characterization that echoed depictions of Indian women in the Smithsonian exhibit.[69]

Indian fighting, on which Buffalo Bill's fame rested, was a staple of the performance. Buffalo Bill, scouts, and cowboys defended "a Prairie immigrant train" from "marauding Indians" and saved settlers from an Indian attack on their cabin. Six mules pulled the original Deadwood stage "that was attacked by Indians upon the plains and which was rescued by Buffalo Bill and his scouts." Spectators could still see the bullet holes from the real encounter as Buffalo Bill reenacted the event. Other acts focused on the waning of the West. Buffalo Bill and the Indians staged a "buffalo hunt, as it was in the Far West of North America" with "the last of the only known Native herd," a reminder of the slaughter that had brought the animal to the brink of extinction. The Indians presumably were not far behind. John M. Burke, Buffalo Bill's advance man, remarked, "the primitive people . . . are things fast passing away; in fact 'The Last

of the Mohicans.' Colonel Cody's ambition is to leave the memory of this realism in all its grandeur and magnitude as a legacy to every part of the country and then finish his really extraordinary labors in this line." The Wild West overwhelmed any nostalgia for the past by relentlessly reminding the audience of the Indian's savagery, and when Buffalo Bill entered the arena on the sorrel horse General Miles had given him after the "fight" at Wounded Knee, where U.S. soldiers had killed 150 to 300 unarmed Indians, mostly women and children, Cody commemorated triumph, not tragedy. The "audience sat spell bound" and "cheered with an enthusiasm seldom seen on a show ground." The Wild West was a huge hit in Atlanta.[70]

Southerners found the off-stage drama that accompanied the Wild West equally fascinating. Shortly after Cody arrived, Atlanta police arrested Crazy Bull, a twenty-five-year-old Sioux performer, on a murder warrant from Maryland. In the show Crazy Bull shot and scalped several cowboys and then rode away on his horse with the scalps dangling at his side, a role that seemed to belie his claim to be innocent of the crime of which he was accused. In Baltimore he allegedly had thrown a brick at a crowd of youths who had gathered to "make sport of him," striking a boy who died a week later, after the show had left for Atlanta. Although the warrant listed the name of the accused as Mohawk, an eyewitness identified Crazy Bull as the perpetrator by a mole on the left side of his nose. Cody obtained legal representation for Crazy Bull, who reportedly was one of Cody's favorites, and posted a $2,000 bond for his employee's release.

Cody and his managers, as well as an Indian agent, testified on behalf of Crazy Bull. No one had ever referred to him as Mohawk (the show roster listed his name as Jealous), they never knew the man to be violent, and no one had heard anything about the incident before the troupe left Baltimore. The Sioux in the show were accustomed to the teasing of small boys, and, with an eye to the publicity the trial generated, Cody suggestively pointed out that

"the Indians used more formidable weapons when their anger was aroused." Cody's business manager questioned the credibility of the eyewitness who identified Crazy Bull. Insisting that all Indians looked the same to whites, the business manager described a person who could pick a particular individual out of a group of sixty Indians as a "curiosity" and proclaimed "that in his long experience with Indians, he would not undertake to identify an Indian after a month's time." The eyewitness defended himself on the grounds that he had viewed a group of only thirty Indians, not sixty, and, while he made no claim to be an expert, "he had been west and came into contact with them there."

The judge ordered Crazy Bull released pending review of the warrant by Georgia's governor, and the young man rejoined the show in its final days. "He was foremost in the reckless rides of the Indians," reported the *Atlanta Constitution,* "and his brothers greeted him with joy." The Baltimore prosecutor ultimately dropped the charges, and Crazy Bull went home at the end of the season.[71]

Buffalo Bill's exit after a two-week run in Atlanta did not leave the exposition bereft of Indians. One of the most popular attractions on the midway was the Indian Village, home to thirty Sioux from the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota. Introduced at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889, ethnographic villages depicted exotic ways of life through displays, performances, and the people themselves. Charles P. Jordan, a licensed Indian trader on the reservation, had received permission from the Office of Indian Affairs to exhibit the Rosebud Sioux in Atlanta.[72] The *Atlanta Constitution* published testimonials from Buffalo Bill, General Miles, and others that this was the only show endorsed by the U.S. government and assured visitors that Jordan employed "the best class of Indians."[73] More significant than their class was that these people had survived the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee that Buffalo Bill celebrated. Only five years after the event, survivors were on public

display in Atlanta. One of the women had been holding her infant when the soldiers opened fire, and bullets had struck him as well as her. Known as Little Wound, he "seems no worse physically for his early taste of war, and during the Exposition showed all the lively and mischievous tendencies of a robust urchin." The exhibit also included Two Strike, one of the leaders of the "great breakout" that ended at Wounded Knee, and Stands-and-Looks-Back, who had been at the Little Big Horn. Among the residents were women and children, including an infant born at the midway village and named for exposition president Charles Collier.[74]

The Sioux shared the midway with other ethnic villages, performances, a Ferris wheel, a kind of water slide called the "chutes," and food, drink, and souvenir concessions. The Sioux occupied fifteen tipis, and, in a covered amphitheater that could hold as many as 250 people, they performed "their dances, wedding ceremonies and modes of warfare and punishment." Near the entrance to the village a "Professor Chittenden" lectured on "his $20,000 collection of Indian, Eskimo and historic relics, probably the most remarkable collection of its kind in the world." A medicine man set up two "lodges," most likely tipis, "covered with pictures representing the strange, unnatural things he had seen in his dreams," and a "historic lodge" presented 240 years of Sioux history in pictures. The pictures that depicted Sioux history were probably winter counts, Sioux calendars that represented important events in pictographs. Originally painted on buffalo hides, winter counts appeared on muslin and even paper by the late nineteenth century as official keepers of the winter counts copied and updated earlier versions. Jordan owned winter counts dating to the mid-eighteenth century and displayed at least one of them in Atlanta.[75]

We do not know how the residents of the Indian Village regarded their participation in the Cotton States Exposition, but it is not difficult to imagine that they found it demeaning. Two Strike had received his name after he killed two soldiers riding one horse,

and he had counted twelve coups in battles that included the defeat of Custer at the Little Big Horn. Now he was on exhibit at the Cotton States Exposition. Every evening the Sioux participated in a procession of performers from the midway through the exposition grounds. Preceded by a strong man and performing dogs and followed by the "beautiful girls from the palace of illusions," Two Strike "with his full paraphernalia about him and his war paint covering his countenance" led his people in a "war dance."[76] The seventy-two-year-old man had only slightly more privacy in his home. A reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* "peeped into his tent" to discover the elderly chief "without shoes." Assuring readers that "he did not mind my intrusion," the journalist explained that, nevertheless, "such visits wearied him greatly." The reporter then dismissed Two Strike as "simply an attraction at a Midway show" who "presented a spectacle not without sadness." Once a great warrior, "Two Strike rules nothing, not even his own will." When he ambled along the midway, he created quite a stir among visitors, but Two Strike "gazed with contempt upon it."[77]

In November tragedy struck the Indian Village. One of the residents, Yellow Robe, reportedly suffered a mental breakdown, and the concessionaires, at the request of the other Indians, had him confined to jail "for safekeeping." He found little privacy there. Admitted as a visitor to the "demented Indian," a reporter observed Yellow Robe "in restless pace to and fro in his cell" like a caged animal. The cause of Yellow Robe's collapse was worry about his family. "An Indian of exceptional regard for his family," he had a wife and children in South Dakota and two young daughters with him in Atlanta. A son recently had been critically injured in an accident, and Yellow Robe's daughters on the midway had "given him cause for worry." But his madness seemed directed toward the other Sioux in the Indian Village: "[He] even now extends his hand in friendly greeting to whites while he raves at the sight of his own countrymen."[78] Yellow Robe soon left for Rosebud, but, before the

month was out, another resident of the village had fallen ill, this time with pneumonia. He was hospitalized and soon recovered.[79]

The experiences of the Indians in the Wild West show and on the midway raise troubling questions. In 1914 Chauncey Yellow Robe, a Sioux alumnus of Carlisle, criticized Indian participation in Wild West shows as "degrading, demoralizing, and degenerating" to the performers. By portraying Indians merely as savages, he charged, the shows led whites to question their "adaptability for Anglo-Saxon civilization."[80] The historian George Moses, however, has argued that show Indians were not merely hapless victims of carnival shysters.[81] Exhibitions and Wild West shows offered them an escape from the tedium and privation of life on reservations, a chance to travel and earn income, and an outlet for cultural expression no longer tolerated in other contexts. Their presence also perhaps generated some sympathy for Indians, as well as confirming many negative stereotypes, and occasionally provided an opportunity to voice concerns. Just a month before the Wild West arrived in Atlanta, for example, Cody escorted a group of his performers to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington to discuss a decrease in rates paid to the Sioux on the reservation for hauling freight.[82] Nevertheless, Indian performers sometimes found themselves in demeaning situations over which they had no control, and their physical and mental health probably suffered. Even the Office of Indian Affairs recognized the deleterious effects of exhibiting Indians. In the early 1890s the commissioner of Indian affairs refused most requests for Indians "to appear before the public exhibiting their savage characteristics" because it produced admiration for the very behavior "which really is a mark of their degradation." Travel tended to "foster a roaming spirit" and bring Indians into contact "with the low and degraded white man, [which] encourages vice, and begets false ideas of civilized life."[83] Furthermore, since they focused on Indian "savagery" rather than "civilization," Wild West shows cast doubt on the efficacy of OIA programs to assimilate Indians.

Commissioners also grounded their opposition in the treatment accorded Indians by unscrupulous showmen who did not adequately feed and house their employees or simply abandoned them far from home. By 1895 the Office of Indian Affairs had moderated its views, deciding that exhibitions tended "to identify the interests of the Indians with their white neighbors, and foster harmonious relations between them." To prevent abuse officials required exhibitors to post bonds with the Office of Indian Affairs, sign contracts with individual Indians specifying salaries, and provide adequate food, housing, medical care, supervision, and transport. Both Cody and Jordan had done so.[84]

Not all Native Americans at the Cotton States Exposition had even the minimal protection that the Office of Indian Affairs required. Among the attractions at the Mexican Village were Zapotec people from Tehuantepec whom a private concessionaire had brought to the United States to exhibit. Their nationality placed them beyond the purview of the OIA, but history linked them to other Native people at the exposition. One exposition publication described them as the descendants of the people Cortez found in "a most advanced state of civilization" who "seem to have retrograded." In contrast to their ancestors, "their wants are simple and their modes of living primitive."[85] The appearance of a group of women, a journalist noted, was "like so many bright plumaged birds." The analogy placed Zapotecs in nature, not "civilization," and their brightly colored attire and lace scarves left him "in doubt as to whether they are about to take the sacrament or offer up a human sacrifice."[86] The women's column of the *Atlanta Constitution* considered them "stunted" and compared them to "that little Mexican mule."[87] However "primitive" observers found the indigenous people at the Mexican Village, the Indians expected the concessionaire to pay their wages and to furnish them with transportation back to their home in southern Mexico, which he failed to do. They complained to the Mexican commissioner for the Cotton

States Exposition, but since the concessionaire was a U.S. company, he had little recourse except to report the offense to Mexico's Ministry of Economic Development.[88]

The indigenous people from Tehuantepec were not the only Native Americans to slip through a regulatory loophole. The Ice Grotto exhibited "a group of genuine Eskimo" in "the most entertaining, instructive, and chaste exhibition on the grounds." The barker linked climate to sexuality, with the arctic providing a "cold show," not a "hot show." "The show is a decent, refined performance," he shouted to passersby. "You will not leave this place with a blush on your cheek." The seven Inuits had come from Port Clarence, Alaska, under the supervision of Miner W. Bruce, who had no official permission to exhibit them. A Nebraskan who had become an arctic explorer and journalist, Bruce had served as superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station for a year. At the urging of Sheldon Jackson, a missionary, and Captain Michael A. Healy of the U.S. Marine Revenue Service (forerunner of the Coast Guard), the United States had established the station in 1892 with reindeer imported from Siberia in the hope that Inuits would adopt reindeer as a food source to replace the whales, walrus, and seals that commercial hunting had devastated. After a year Bruce lost his job for selling whiskey to the Natives. No one, however, prevented him from taking a group of Inuits to Chicago for the Columbian Exposition or, upon their return, leaving Zacks-Riner, one of a pair of twin toddlers who was too sick to travel, with a white family in Seattle. When the troupe collected the five-year-old on their way to Atlanta two years later, she spoke only English and could no longer communicate with her twin, Artmarhoke, who spoke only her Native language. Residence in Seattle also supposedly had a physical effect on the girl: she was "naturally the larger of the two." The twins proved to be quite a curiosity in Atlanta. Bruce took them and other Inuits to visit Atlanta public schools, where he lectured and the Inuits sang and danced. Much to the delight

of the pupils, Zacks-Riner performed "A Bicycle Built for Two." Kerlunger, "an eighteen-year-old beauty," and one of the twins modeled for students from the Girls Normal and Industrial College in Milledgeville who were learning to sculpt in clay. Despite Bruce's efforts to generate sympathy and support for the Inuits, his critics there were appalled. "To have the reindeer project become the father of a Dime Museum," Healy wrote Jackson, "is to me a cause of mortification." The Office of Indian Affairs had no responsibility for Alaska Natives, but Healy implored "someone" to force Bruce to post a bond for the Inuits' treatment and return. Misfortune befell the Inuits but not by Bruce's hand. Pneumonia sent three Inuits to Grady Hospital. One of them, Iserkyner, died and was buried in Atlanta.[89]

The real-life dramas that unfolded on Atlanta's midway may have been unavoidable. Their occurrence, however, tended to temper the exotic image that exhibitors sought to project. A young man falsely accused of a crime, a father who worried about his children to the point of distraction, a distinguished leader bent to the ravages of time, healthy adults struck with serious illness, an employer who stiffed his workers — these were everyday problems that many non-Indians shared. The elderly Two Strike taking a stroll or Inuit children visiting Atlanta schools conveyed a kind of familiarity with clearly defined Native people that most southerners had never experienced. This evidence of a shared humanity might very well have given southerners a sense that they really understood Indians. At the same time that understanding included the paint, feathers, and "war dances" that Indians displayed in their performances. The events of everyday life obscured rather than clarified the line between real and make-believe. Certainly, these living people with their human problems seemed far more genuine and authentic than the people represented by the stone statues or plaster figures and in the glass cases of the exhibits of the Smithsonian and Office of Indian Affairs at the Cotton States Exposition. The Indian per-

formers on the midway also shaped a conception of "Indian" that excluded most Native people in the South.

The South of the Cotton States Exposition had little room for Indians. In his oration at the opening exercises, Judge Emory Speer boasted that "Southern people present the largest percentage of the old Anglo-Saxon stock" in the United States. Although Anglo-Saxons had lived in the South for centuries, he claimed that "not a drop of the Indian's blood flows in the veins of the white men who succeeded him."[90] There were also few Indians in the historical sections of the exposition's official history. The narrative in Georgia's chapter leapt from the ratification of federal and state constitutions in the late eighteenth century to secession in 1860; it made no reference to the expulsion of the Creeks and Cherokees from the state in the 1820s and 1830s even though President Charles Collier's father had participated in the removal of the Cherokees.[91] Only the narrative of Florida history referred to purging the state of Indians. It characterized the Seminole War as "the stubborn resistance of the warlike nation," and, following the Seminoles' defeat, "the little remnant of Indians were then removed to a reservation beyond the Mississippi."[92] This account made no provision for the continuing presence of Seminoles in the Everglades of south Florida, nor did the lengthy travelogue of western North Carolina mention Cherokees who still lived there.[93]

Indians, southerners believed, belonged in the past or in the West, and those southerners who claimed to be Indians were most likely frauds. In drawing the color line southerners came to consider most Native people in their region to be mulattoes. Anglo-Saxon purity demanded that the Indians be classified, along with African Americans, as "colored." The most extreme consequence of this way of thinking was Virginia's Racial Integrity Law of 1924, which denied that any Indians lived in the state except the handful who occupied two small, seventeenth-century reservations. The other Indian communities scattered across the state officially lost

their racial identity; all official documents, including birth, death, and marriage records, listed them as "colored."[94] Throughout the South whites questioned or rejected the identity of people who claimed to be Indian.[95] The image of Indians at the Cotton States Exposition, as well as other forms of popular culture, contributed to the intellectual climate in which this racial reclassification occurred. If Indians were not "primitive" or exotic, if they did not live in the West, then were they really Indians? The more southerners learned about Indians at expositions, the less inclined they were to recognize as Indian the remaining indigenous people of their region.

One young southerner introduced to Indians at the Cotton States Exposition was exposition president Charles Collier's eleven-year-old son, John, who would grow up to become a crusader for Indian policy reform. Scholars usually date John's interest in Native America to 1920, a quarter-century after the Cotton States Exposition, when he "discovered" Taos and the other Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. Already a critic of modernity, John Collier idealized Pueblo culture, which he saw as the antithesis of the industrialized society that his father had celebrated at the Cotton States Exposition. Instead of lamenting their imminent demise, John Collier wanted to sustain American Indians and their cultures. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him commissioner of Indian affairs in 1933, Collier developed a program to preserve Indian culture by suspending allotment, empowering tribal governments, and encouraging cultural expressions.

The incorporation of Indians into U.S. society rested in part on engendering appreciation of Native culture by Indians as well as non-Indians. To accomplish this goal John Collier suggested that the Southeastern Fair held in Atlanta in 1934 include an Indian exposition. Announcements of the event referred to Collier's father and the Cotton States Exposition and noted that "this event must not be confused with exhibitions of the circus or wild west type."

Nevertheless, the exposition promised tipis where Indians would demonstrate traditional crafts, "weird" Apache dancing, Seminole alligator wrestling, and Cherokee stickball, along with real-life "bucks and braves, squaws and Papooses." Four Indian villages demonstrated the ways of life of Cherokees, Pueblos, Navajos, and Seminoles. The fair celebrated cultural traditions that the Indians themselves often no longer observed, and the *Atlanta Constitution* predicted that the dwellings displayed would be "new and novel to some of the young Indians."[96]

John Collier himself opened the exposition and delivered a speech in which he laid out his views on Indians. "In this age which is dominated by machinery, and where more and more we are all being standardized into one pattern," he told the crowd, "it is a good thing, and an important thing, that we still have groups of human beings who live their lives in terms of Mother Earth. It is an important thing to have groups of human beings who do not need labor-saving machinery to create their pleasures . . . who unreservedly believe in the supremacy of spirit over body." Collier recognized the value of cultural diversity, but, like his father, he relegated Indians to a culture that was at odds with the modern world. His interest in southern Indians extended primarily to the descendants of those whom his grandfather had helped remove to Indian Territory. In his address John Collier criticized the exclusion of Oklahoma Indians from the Indian Reorganization Act, which left them at the mercy of "blood-sucking local guardians." Collier had far less interest in people like the Houmas of Louisiana or the Lumbees of North Carolina, who lived much like their non-Indian neighbors and struggled with the strictures of Jim Crow. Indeed, his office agonized over whether these people were even Indians. Perhaps they were really "colored." In the conclusion to his speech, John Collier acknowledged that he "had not talked about the Indians who remained in the Southeast." It was an omission his father would have understood.[97]

If a culture no longer exhibited identifiable indigenous practices, could its adherents be Indians? John Collier wrestled with that question as commissioner of Indian affairs. Perhaps his father confronted the same issue when the superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Agency requested an invitation for the school band to play at the Cotton States Exposition. The appearance of Cherokee boys and the sound of their music would have muddled the rational world that the Cotton States Exposition represented. They bore some physical resemblance to the Indians on the midway, but they dressed, marched, and played just like non-Indians. Although no one was likely to challenge the Cherokees' authenticity, Indians without feathers, especially Indians who lived so close to Atlanta, raised troubling questions. Where would they sleep? They brought no tipis. Where would they eat? Restaurants served only black or white. Where would they sit on public transportation? Streetcars accommodated only black or white. How could there be a third race in a biracial system? The easiest thing to do was to ignore the offer of a performance by the Cherokee band.

The South as a whole followed suit and ignored the region's Indians unless they behaved in an exotic way that confirmed their identity. Just after World War I the Seminoles in Florida began attracting the interest of visitors. In camps adjacent to resorts, Seminoles performed for tourists. Mostly their performances consisted of going about their normal routines while tourists gawked at them, but they also enacted "Indian weddings" and ultimately added alligator wrestling to their repertoire. That is, even the Seminoles were not exotic enough for a generation raised on Wild West shows and BAE publications unless the Seminoles embellished their lives.[98] In the 1920s the Cherokees in North Carolina began to attract tourists to their Indian Fair, and they discovered that elaborate war bonnets brought lucrative returns to Indians who posed for tourist photos. "Chiefs" standing next to tipis and totem poles began to line the streets of their town.[99] In his autobiography John

Collier lauded other Cherokee "achievements": the development of an outdoor drama, establishment of an arts-and-crafts cooperative, and creation of a museum and living history village.[100] The impetus for all these came from whites and catered to whites. Southern Indians who did not perform as Indians received little attention from Collier or anyone else, except to have their identity challenged by those who defined "Indian" by what they saw on family vacations to western North Carolina or south Florida.

The Cotton States Exposition had helped erase Indians from the southern cultural landscape. The exhibits of the Office of Indian Affairs and the Smithsonian had defined Indians as part of the past. Even those Indians who still survived represented Stone Age cultures that had reached their evolutionary apex and served merely to illustrate European culture in its formative stage. Indian cultures, which had no place in the industrial age, were doomed, and the only hope for Indian people lay in their assimilation by modern society as individuals, not as peoples. Scientific thought made culture and race inseparable, and Indians brought with them the liability of their own culture, which limited their achievements even as individuals. Consequently, OIA schools emphasized practical skills, much like those taught at many African American schools, rather than an academic education. Buffalo Bill and the midway attractions located Native people in the West rather than the South and constructed an image of "Indian" that consigned them to history. The living people who appeared at the Cotton States Exposition were merely dislocated anachronisms, defying both time and place.

For the thousands of Indian people who made their homes in the South, the representations of Indians at the exposition called into question their viability and their legitimacy. Since southerners who asserted an Indian identity bore little cultural resemblance to the Indians whom visitors had seen at the Cotton States Exposition, the dark skin of these southerners suggested how Jim Crow should regard them. The racial categories available to most

southern Indians were white or "colored." As a result Indian people faced legal genocide — they physically survived but biracial segregation concealed their existence. Only as the strictures of segregation faded did many Native people in the South begin to achieve public and even legal recognition of their ethnic identity. Today eleven federally recognized Indian tribes live in the South, which also has about two dozen historically documented Indian communities. More than a hundred years ago visitors to the Cotton States Exposition learned little about these Indians. The Cherokee band played on, but it did so only in the rural valleys of western North Carolina, not in the thriving metropolis of the New South.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GLOBAL SOUTH

In the spring of 1895 publicity about the Cotton States and International Exposition piqued the interest of Samuel P. Hall of Petersburg, Virginia. Times were tough. The depression that began in earnest in 1893 seemed reluctant to loosen its hold on the nation, and the prospects for economic success were bleak. Hall was an enterprising young man, so he wrote to Isaac W. Avery, the exposition's commissioner for Latin America, to ask about opportunities in the southern latitudes. "What is the generally accepted language of said country?" he inquired. The depth of Hall's ignorance is astounding to those of us who live in the global South of the twenty-first century. Not only did he not know the dominant language south of the border, but he also did not grasp that South America was a continent comprised of many nations instead of a single country.[1]

Hall's lack of knowledge and his international aspirations point to the very circumstances that gave rise to the Cotton States Exposition. Avery and other organizers hoped that the exposition would educate southerners like Hall about the broader world, and the southern boosters expected this knowledge to produce tangible results, in particular, an economic expansion grounded in foreign trade that would lift the region out of the doldrums. Businessmen from the United States presumably would learn what raw materials and products were available elsewhere, and foreigners who attended the exposition would find out what southerners, in particular, pro-

duced. The exposition invested considerable resources in attracting foreign exhibitors and visitors to Atlanta, and the global South seemed a real possibility.

From the very beginning organizers envisioned the Cotton States Exposition as a trade fair. Early suggestions for a name — the Cotton States and Subtropical Exposition or the Cotton States and Pan-American Exposition — linked Atlanta to the Caribbean and Latin America, and the final choice — the Cotton States and International Exposition — merely broadened the scope. As early as December 1893, the *Atlanta Constitution* published a map showing that straight lines drawn between Nassau and Des Moines, Havana and Chicago, and Mexico City and New York intersected at Atlanta. With rail lines radiating from the interior city and linking it to several southern ports, Atlanta seemed to be a natural entrepôt for the shipment of goods. The South produced a wide array of agricultural products that the United States exported, but the Port of New York dominated the trade, and little commerce passed through ports south of Baltimore. Boosters insisted that southern ports should ship southern goods. The proximity of the region to foreign markets meant that southern ports also could handle western exports more efficiently than northern ports. The moment seemed right for the region to assert itself in world markets.

Congress recently had restructured tariffs, a move that promised a freer trade between the United States and its neighbors to the south, and exposition organizers stood poised to exploit the lower tariffs. Fair organizers thought that an expansion of southern trade would stimulate manufacturing in the South. One study revealed that England sold Japan $17 million worth of goods each year. Of that amount cotton textiles accounted for $14 million, and most of the raw cotton from which English manufacturers wove cloth came from the southern United States. Fabric represented a fourfold gain in value over the raw fiber, and manufacturing textiles in the region that produced cotton promised an enormous profit on exports of

the finished product. Boosters of southern industry also hoped the exposition would rectify the trade imbalance that resulted from foreign countries' selling their raw materials to the United States but buying finished goods elsewhere. Organizers intended for the exposition to spark both manufacturing and export. "A commercial view," they concluded, ". . . is the most important view to take."[2]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were awash with expositions, and invitations to send exhibits to foreign climes poured into the world's capitals.[3] By the 1890s governments were weighing carefully which expositions to support with appropriations of public funds and which to pass up. As a result expositions needed far more than a mere letter of invitation to attract foreign participation. The Cotton States and International Exposition became a serious competitor on the world stage when the United States endorsed the exposition and provided funding. Letters of invitation went out from the State Department to countries in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Leaving nothing to chance, the organizers of the Cotton States Exposition appointed commissioners for Mexico, South America, and Europe, whose job was to secure the support of foreign governments and solicit private exhibits.[4]

Avery, a journalist and former editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* was the most successful. Even before Congress appropriated funds, Avery traveled the South and West promoting the exposition. As soon as Congress gave the Cotton States Exposition its official imprimatur, the organizers appointed him commissioner for South America, and then, when the original commissioner for Mexico met with little success, they extended Avery's responsibility to that country as well. In the fall of 1894 Avery departed the United States with a sheaf of introductions and formal invitations from the State Department. South American diplomats in Washington, D.C., heralded his visit and encouraged their governments to support the exposition.[5]

Avery had help from many quarters, especially in Mexico. William Greene Raoul, president of the Mexican National Railroad, was an early supporter of the exposition. A native of Louisiana, Raoul had married the daughter of a Georgia railroad tycoon and settled in Atlanta; he commuted to his office in Mexico in his private railway car. By the time the Mexican National Railroad elected him president in 1887, Raoul had amassed considerable railroad experience, including the presidency of a Georgia line. He recognized the boon that increased transnational trade could bring the railroad, so he pledged to do everything he could to make the exposition a success.[6] The U.S. minister to Mexico extolled the value of international expositions and promised the organizers that he would "serve them in this matter in every way within my power."[7]

In spring 1894 members of the Georgia Press Association and their families made a two-week excursion to Mexico after attending the group's annual meeting. W. A. Hemphill, vice president of the exposition and principal owner of the *Constitution,* personally presented an official invitation to Mexican president Porfirio Díaz at a reception hosted by the president at his summer home. Mrs. Hemphill extended an invitation to Mrs. Díaz for the participation of Mexican women in the exposition. President Díaz was noncommittal about a government-sponsored exhibit, but he did promise to try to meet U.S. president Grover Cleveland at the exposition or to send representatives. When the delegates met with the Mexican press, they invited the Associated Press of Mexico to attend the exposition and received an expression of support.[8]

Enthusiasm for the exposition abounded in many quarters and optimism in Atlanta soared. The Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs articulated the attitude of most governments in the Western Hemisphere: "High and laudable are the aims of this enterprise, one of the principle objects being to more closely unite the commercial relations between the United States and the Republics of Central and South America."[9]

Acceptances streamed into exposition offices. By November 1894 responses, most of them positive, numbered two or three a week from Central and South America.[10] Antonio Macchi, the commissioner for Europe, promised, "Every important country in Europe will be represented." Londoners formed the Committee of Patronage, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris took up the cause. Macchi appointed a board of commissioners for Italy and a separate commissioner for Austria. Organizers hoped that countries would provide their own buildings, a move that would spare the exposition the construction expenses and call attention to the international character of the fair. Exposition president Charles A. Collier acknowledged the centrality of these exhibits to the success of the exposition: "We are, of course, using the fact of foreign participation for all it is worth and it is proving a very attractive card."[11]

Reality eventually set in. Despite encouraging messages from Europe, relatively little materialized. Whereas the State Department had directed U.S. diplomats in Latin America to promote the exposition it gave little official support to Macchi, and he managed to secure only private exhibits. The exposition's chief of fine arts was able to expand European representation by traveling to Europe in the summer of 1895 and arranging for the shipment of artworks. Embroiled in a war, China and Japan were in no position to respond, so the only representations of these nations came from concessionaires, the Smithsonian, or other entities. Even the participation of Latin America failed to meet expectations: only Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Venezuela sent official exhibits. Exhibitions were expensive, especially when displays had to be shipped thousands of miles. Coming on the heels of the Chicago fair of 1893, coinciding with an "Industrial Exposition" in Rio de Janeiro, and preceding an exposition in Mexico City by only weeks, the Cotton States Exposition suffered from unfortunate scheduling. International expositions already had put a serious

dent in many national budgets, and all nations had more pressing issues to deal with. Several final decisions to send exhibits, including that of Mexico, came at the last minute after intensive lobbying, and the exhibits arrived too late to make the exposition catalogue.[12] President Díaz, who effectively had used international expositions to project an image of Mexico as a modern nation, began to scale back, a retrenchment that nearly scuttled that country's participation. Only Avery's hurried detour to Mexico, where he metaphorically "open[ed] fire on President Díaz," saved the day.[13]

Some obstacles to participation originated with the exposition itself. The whole idea of an exposition held in Atlanta to stimulate international trade struck some as a problematic enterprise whose objectives could best be met by exhibiting North American products at expositions in Latin American cities.[14] Furthermore, Atlanta was not a city known to most people outside the United States. When Macchi toured Europe, the first response of prospective exhibitors was, "Atlanta? Where is that?"[15] One British newspaper reported that the exposition was in Atlantic City. When General Carlos Díaz Gutierrez, governor of the state of San Luis Potosí and commanding general of the Mexican army, visited the exposition, he acknowledged that he had no conception of the city's size or its ability to mount such an exposition. Furthermore, he had only a "vague idea" about the United States as a whole. An Englishwoman expressed surprise that the Civil War was between regions of the United States rather than North and South America, "the only north and south she knew of."[16]

What the world knew about the South was often unflattering or downright scary. In the year before the Cotton States Exposition, a representative of the British Anti-lynching Committee investigated racial violence in the South and pointed to the "disgrace that attaches to a section in which lynch law prevails," and the *Mexican Herald* used the term "racial war" to describe race relations.[17] Such descriptions were not conducive to attracting foreign exhibits.

In addition to fuzzy notions about the city and negative impressions of the region, there was the exposition's name — "Cotton States." The minister to Chile explained to Avery that "there appears to have been an impression that the Exposition was to be one of cotton." For that reason the Chilean Agricultural Society and the Sociedad de Fomento Fabril (the Society for Promoting Manufacturing) declined to participate. The confusion was widespread. Avery explained to President Díaz that the exposition "is called 'Cotton States' because it is held in one of the states that raises cotton." He tried to allay concerns about the narrow scope of the exposition: "Cotton is only a small feature of the Exposition. . . . It is only necessary to show subjects for trade, for industry, for immigration and development."[18]

If many foreigners had a narrow conception of the region and the exposition, most southerners were fairly clueless about the rest of the world. Indeed, Samuel Hall's ignorance about South America was not exceptional, suggesting a provincialism that produced unfounded expectations of the international appeal of the exposition. Avery described his knowledge of the Spanish language as a "smattering" and explained his deficiency in terms that no doubt would resonate with most modern U.S. citizens: "I am afraid foreign languages are too hard for me to tackle."[19] Before the exposition's opening, the *Atlanta Constitution* recommended that Atlantans learn French and Spanish in preparation for the exposition, but more timely instruction might have helped recruitment efforts.[20] Organizers wanted to open Atlanta to the world, but it was a world they knew surprisingly little about. Walter G. Cooper, publicist for the exposition, described the unveiling of a statue of James Monroe in Buenos Aires at which Avery delivered an address: "This speech was spoken in English to a Portuguese-speaking audience, but it was printed the next morning in English and in Portuguese by the daily papers of Buenos Ayres." Argentines, of course, speak Spanish, and the event Cooper described in the official history of the expo-

sition actually took place in Rio de Janeiro, where Portuguese was indeed the language spoken.[21]

One reason southerners knew little about the rest of the world was the difficulty of direct interaction. It took three months, for example, for mail to reach Argentina. Even Mexico City had been inaccessible before the completion of the rail line to the gulf port of Vera Cruz in the 1870s, and direct rail access to the southern United States did not come until the 1880s, when the Mexican National Railway completed the line to Laredo. Until then, General Gutiérrez remarked, "it would have seemed like going to Africa to come to this country." Norteamericanos no doubt felt the same about going to Mexico.[22] An increase in foreign trade the year before the exposition suggests that transportation links were improving, but they had a long way to go before the South could rival the North on the world stage. Ships sailed to Europe from Brunswick, Georgia; Savannah; Newport News, Virginia; Port Royal, South Carolina; Galveston, Texas; New Orleans; Pensacola, Florida; and Hampton Roads, Virginia. Service to foreign ports in the Western Hemisphere was more limited — Baltimore to Mexico, Galveston and New Orleans to Panama, Mobile to Central America and Tampico, Pensacola to Havana, and Jacksonville to the Bahamas. Most of these routes, however, had opened only recently, since 1890, and none connected the region to South America.[23]

Transportation problems frustrated Avery's efforts to secure both exhibits and visitors from South America. The Chilean exhibit, a model of a nitrate mine, almost did not make it to the exposition because of the infrequency of ships, and a large shipment of goods from Venezuela had to go through New York City, where the consul general scrambled to find reduced rates for transport to Atlanta.[24] Conveying visitors from South America was a major headache. Avery envisioned steamships arriving regularly at south Atlantic ports and disembarking passengers who would hop on trains bound for Atlanta. The major packet service to Latin

America, however, was out of New York or New Orleans, both of which were at least a day's travel from Atlanta. The Red D Line required that twenty passengers request disembarkation in Savannah before a ship would dock there. Even if such a number sought to land, the City of Savannah was less than enthusiastic about the influx of foreigners, and the president of the Savannah Board of Trade advised against it. Other southeastern ports expressed reservations. Brunswick citizens were worried about yellow fever, as were residents of Charleston, who ultimately agreed to permit disembarkation only if the ship had not called at ports where the disease had been diagnosed. New Orleans issued a quarantine and refused to admit anyone from South America until October 15. Avery considered Jacksonville and Fernandina in Florida as potential gateways to the fair, but the Red D Line demanded that he end his quest for a south Atlantic port. All Red D steamers would go to New York.[25] This decision quashed hopes that hundreds of thousands of foreigners would visit the exposition.[26]

Suspicion of foreigners put a damper on the exposition. Nativism, the intense opposition to immigration, is a hallmark of late nineteenth-century America. In the 1890s four million people emigrated to the United States. Many were from eastern or southern Europe, and native-born Americans viewed them as poor, unskilled peasants who clustered in urban neighborhoods and resisted assimilation. They often were Catholic or dark-skinned or political radicals. Native-born Americans increasingly linked these immigrants to immorality, crime, political corruption, and labor unrest and moved to stem the tide of immigration. Relatively few immigrants had moved South, but those who did often encountered resentment and hostility. An event in New Orleans in 1891 galvanized southerners against immigration. Police arrested eleven Italians for the murder of police chief David Hennessey; when a jury declined to convict the men, a mob lynched them. The contemporary explanation for the murder, now discredited, was that Hennessey had

been investigating the mafia, of which the men were members, and they killed him to end his inquiries.[27] The episode fanned nativism in the region.

Southerners took pride that few immigrants had found their way to the region. The South had so few residents of foreign parentage — 1.78 percent of the Georgia population in 1890 — that many considered it to be "the only truly American section." The *Atlanta Constitution* concluded that it was "a blessing in disguise that the tide of immigration went west and not south" and reported with relief that "fifty more Italian laborers employed on the sewerage work here were shipped back to New York today by the contractors."[28] In his keynote address at the opening of the exposition, Judge Emory Speer contended that "multitudes of those who seek our shores to better their condition have no conception of the character of our Government, and, therefore, no devotion to the institutions of free men, and this is one of our greatest dangers."[29] Booker T. Washington urged the audience to look to African Americans for achieving "the prosperity of the South" and not to "those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits."[30]

Such attitudes boded ill for foreign exhibitors at the Cotton States Exposition who needed to bring laborers, vendors, and performers. To ensure that foreign workers returned home, immigration and customs officials issued each person entering the country a certificate granting admission. After one year these officials had to report to the Treasury Department the names of anyone who had failed to surrender the certificate and leave the country.[31] The Cotton States Exposition wanted foreign exhibits, visitors, and trade, but southerners did not want foreigners.

The majority of foreign employees at the Cotton States Exposition worked for concessionaires who operated attractions on Midway Heights. Although concessionaires argued that their exhibits had educational benefits, the real purpose was entertainment, and among the most popular were ethnographic villages. One of the

most populous villages in Atlanta was the Chinese Village. Securing entry of Chinese people to operate the attraction, however, was no easy matter. In 1882 the United States had passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years; in 1892 Congress renewed the act and required all Chinese residents to register with the government.[32]

Despite these restrictions Kee Owyang, a college-educated businessman who managed the Chinese department of a New York bank, obtained a congressional resolution permitting him to bring in Chinese for the specific purpose of appearing at the Cotton States Exposition. Like other foreigners who came to work at the exposition, the Chinese had to get a certificate and depart within a year, but this legislation gave Kee a monopoly on the importation of Chinese labor. Exposition directors were not aware of this private act when they awarded Kee the concession for the village, but the arrival of 206 Chinese at the U.S. border alerted them to the unusual arrangement. The Chinese had sailed from Hong Kong and had arrived in Victoria, British Columbia, before setting out across Canada by rail. In early September they arrived at Ogdensburg, New York, and sought entry into the United States. Customs officials balked. Finally, they agreed to permit the transport of the Chinese workers to Atlanta, but the Treasury Department sent a special investigator to meet them there and examine their credentials. The concern stemmed from the experience of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago two years earlier: of five hundred Chinese admitted, fewer than fifty reportedly worked at the fair and fewer than twenty-five left the country within a year as required by law. Kee's behavior heightened suspicions. He had sought the congressional resolution in secret and had failed to reveal that action to the exposition directors when he sought the concession. Furthermore, rumors circulated that he offered Chinese laborers to those willing to pay $200 per head and a commission of 10 percent to anyone arranging such a deal. The Treasury Department's investigation re-

vealed that the Chinese did not plan to return home, and the matter was referred to the district attorney for action, which was slow in coming.[33]

The arrival of the Chinese in Atlanta provoked a new controversy. The party consisted mostly of men and boys, but there also were thirty-four women. These women were a rarity. The vast majority of Chinese entering the United States had been men. In 1890 San Francisco, home to the largest Chinese American community, had twenty-two Chinese men for every woman, and among New York City's ten thousand Chinese residents were reportedly a total of only twenty-one women. Approximately two hundred Chinese lived in Georgia, but only two were women (residing in Augusta and Savannah). Wealthy Chinese men in the United States were willing to pay as much as $1,000 for a wife. The small number of Chinese women in the expositon village made them subjects of intense curiosity, concern, and perhaps even lust. The women ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-four (most were younger than twenty), and they listed their occupations as maids, singers, or actresses. The last of these, actress, was patently untrue since boys played the female roles in Chinese dramas, a custom that brought some embarrassment to naive young men in Atlanta who had "been in the habit of sending bonbons and flowers to the Chinese prima donnas."

Lum Ling, a local laundry owner who was the leader of Atlanta's small Chinese community, feared a far more sinister deception. Lum charged that, when the exposition ended, Kee would sell the young women for "immoral purposes" and send older, less desirable women back to China in their place. In order to prevent the switch Lum hired attorneys, who filed a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the women were being held in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery. Nine of the "oriental beauties" appeared in court and testified that they had come to Atlanta of their own free will and intended to return to China.

The attorney retained by Kee and Leong Lam, the manager of the village, tried to discredit Lum by suggesting that two members of Atlanta's Chinese community wanted two of the women for themselves and that the charges were simply a subterfuge to secure wives. Although the government investigator had discovered that they "were nothing more than women of bad repute in the country from which they came," the judge ruled that they were not being held as slaves and ordered them returned to the Chinese Village.[34]

Having failed in court, the local Chinese put the midway village under surveillance. On November 22 the sentinels saw three hacks drive up to the Chinese Village and spirit away more than twenty women. The locals gave chase but, realizing that pursuit was futile, informed Lum Ling, who notified police and demanded that the chief telegraph towns west of Atlanta to stop the hacks. The chief refused on the ground that no warrant had been issued. Several days earlier local people had spotted a large Chinese woman, whom they believed operated brothels in San Francisco. Lum was convinced that she had taken the women from the Chinese Village "for an improper purpose," and he took out warrants for the arrest of the women. Leong Lam, the village manager, explained that "the women have gone away awhile because it was too cold for them here." President Collier confessed that he had given his permission for their absence because the attraction was not making money and needed to lay off employees. The women did not return, and by the time the Chinese Village closed, only sixty Chinese remained. Some had departed for Hong Kong, but most had gone to San Francisco for what remained of the year they had been granted in the United States. How many actually departed for China is not known.[35]

The saga of the "Chinese beauties" raises a number of questions. Was Kee as disreputable as he appears? Why did Lum and other Atlanta Chinese become involved? Why did the court and police not take the matter more seriously? Underlying the answers to

these questions is a racism as profound as that which confronted African Americans. Kee might well have been a scoundrel, but he also subtly challenged the Chinese Exclusion Act. Most migrants to the United States were men, and they often left wives and children behind in China while they worked in mining camps, on railroads, or as canal builders. The act made it nearly impossible for them to return to China, visit their families, and then reenter the United States. One solution to this problem was exactly the scheme that critics attributed to Kee: a group of workers arrived with permission to stay temporarily, and when time to leave came, laborers who wanted to return home took their place. Whether Kee actually engaged in such subterfuge is uncertain, but he did vehemently oppose the Chinese Exclusion Act as a violation of treaty rights and international law. A decade after the Cotton States Exposition, Kee penned an attack on U.S. immigration policies, whose passage he attributed to "political demagogues." "The act excluding the Chinese immigration," he wrote, "was not tempered with justice or a square deal. . . . The reason for excluding Chinese people is racial, not economic." He quoted a California lawyer: "We are afflicted with the malady of race hatred; and infected with this disease. Everything that the Oriental does is, to our sick vision, distorted into an offense which causes us to vomit forth at home our rancor and spleen."[36]

The nativist movement of the late nineteenth century became profoundly racist when immigration involved color, and such attitudes easily took root in the South. One can only imagine the terror that Atlanta's small Chinese community must have felt when its members suspected that Kee was intentionally subverting immigration legislation. In the dozen years before the Cotton States Exposition, whites in Georgia had beaten, robbed, and threatened to lynch Chinese businessmen.[37] Atlanta's Chinese had little choice but to disassociate themselves from the midway village and its concessionaire.

The failure of authorities to give credence to the charges that Lum Ling lodged reveals the disdain they felt for the local Chinese. Lum was a successful businessman who spoke English and had sufficient means to hire attorneys, but white men preferred to leer at the "Chinese beauties" rather than take seriously the danger they were in. They associated Chinese women with prostitution, a stereotype that had some basis in fact because of the severe imbalance in the sex ratio and the gender system that emerged in Chinese American communities.[38] In the minds of officials the race of the Chinese women made them prostitutes, who did not deserve equal protection of the law, and Lum's race made him an inconsequential annoyance. The tone that pervades coverage of the incident in the *Atlanta Constitution* is one of slightly amused condescension. The Chinese might be appropriate denizens of the midway, but they had little place in Atlanta beyond the exposition gates. Although nativism reached its racist extreme with the Chinese, white Atlantans denigrated other foreigners of color by constructing them as exotic "others" whose cultures were inferior to their own. This attitude was hardly conducive to attracting exhibits to the fair.

As it turned out, the Cotton States and International Exposition had relatively few international exhibits, and only Costa Rica provided its own building, which consisted of two adjoining pavilions. One was a theater, where a commissioner from that country showed more than two thousand "beautiful views of Costa Rica" projected on a twenty-four-square-foot screen by a stereopticon. The other served steaming cups of coffee and chocolate as well as Costa Rican cuisine, displayed the various stages of coffee production, sold packages of roasted Costa Rican coffee, and exhibited "Indian curios."[39] Argentina's display in the Minerals and Forestry Building included collections of wool, woods, grains, and fruit products. Venezuela, which had the largest exhibit, decked out its space in the Transportation Building in the national colors of red, blue, and yellow and hung a banner that read, "The Atlanta

Exposition will be a new link to bind closer and stronger the trade and friendship between Venezuela and the United States." The nation exhibited samples of native woods, quartz, copper, coffee and cocoa, hides, asphalt, petroleum, coal, fibers and fabrics, marble, indigo, sarsaparilla, liquors, books, cigarettes and cigars, clothing, and photographs of the country. Mexico, whose exhibit arrived in late October for installation in the Transportation Building, presented ores; onyx; a hundred different fibers, including wool and cotton; cereal crops; cigars; and cacti. The exhibit also included saddles and other tack and "the complete equipment of a Mexican horseman, flashing sombrero and buckskin suit." Perhaps disappointing those who saw Mexico as a market for textiles, wool cassimere, silk fabric, and cotton jeans, calicoes and percales appeared. Photographs on glass illustrated the development of the country, the national museum sent Aztec "idols" that had never before traveled outside Mexico, and a rifle and cannon demonstrated military capabilities. The First Artillery Band of Mexico followed the exhibit to Atlanta. Wearing spurs, sabers, and red-plumed, high-topped hats, the musicians played two concerts a day for a week before returning home. Because it arrived so late, the location of the Chilean exhibit is unclear; since the model of the phosphate mine was its centerpiece, it probably went to the Minerals and Forestry Building. The Chilean exhibit also included a number of wines that commanded medals.[40] Perhaps to the surprise of fair organizers, the Latin American countries showed many inventions, manufactured products, and luxury goods as well as raw materials. These official government exhibits, though emphasizing commerce, presented a fairly coherent view of the sponsoring countries.

The same could not be said for the other foreign exhibits at the Cotton States Exposition. Commissioner Macchi managed to secure more than 260 private exhibits from Europe.[41] These displays had no official government sponsorship. In many, manufacturers or distributors simply presented their specific products while oth-

ers consisted of items, such as artwork, thought to be of general interest. From Belgium came lace, cut glass, and machinery; from Great Britain, pianos, bicycles, electric appliances, woolens, china, and pottery; from Germany, china and glassware; from Austria, Bohemian glass and Carlsbad china; from Italy, coral, diamonds, jewelry, and marble statues; from Russia, furs; and from France, paintings, bronzes, and tapestries. Though not a business, the Pasteur Institute of France, which sought to find cures for infectious disease, had a display draped in black in observance of the death of its founder, Louis Pasteur, on September 28. Other exhibits came from entrepreneurs in France, Italy, England, Austria, Russia, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, the West Indies (Curaçao), China, Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, Spain, and Paraguay. These exhibits were located in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building and the Arts Building, as well as the Woman's Building.

The Woman's Building, which had closed its doors to African Americans, welcomed contributions from Russia, Austria, Canada, Turkey, Mexico, and Paraguay. The meeting between Atlanta women who went to Mexico with the Georgia Press Association might have been responsible for the Mexican exhibit. Avery recruited the Paraguayan display of fine, handmade lace handkerchiefs. The Woman's Building granted the request of a group of Turkish women for space to display "needle art and other fancy work." Madame A. L. Pogosky of Russian Peasant Industries in London arranged for a number of exhibits in the Woman's Building, including lace by the School of Children Lace Makers in Vyatka and furniture and cabinetwork by the peasants of Nizhny Novgorod and Vyatka.[42]

The jury that made awards for exhibits showered honors on the foreign exhibits, especially those from Latin America. Chilean and Venezuelan wines won gold medals in the horticulture category, as did the model phosphate mine from Chile. In the miscellaneous category Costa Rica received a gold medal for its coffee and

"characteristic products and manufactures." The gold went to Mexico for "statistical and geographical works," "the arts of printing and binding," and collections of bird skins, medicinal plants, and landscape photographs. Argentina took home the gold for its display of wood and "commercial products," "statistical and geographical works," and scholarly studies of the history and resources of the country. These five nations also garnered a staggering number of silver and bronze medals and honorable mentions. Italy and France also compiled significant totals, primarily for art works.[43]

Competition for awards was keen, and not everyone was happy with the results. The first effort at conciliation was award inflation. The board of directors converted silver medals to gold, bronze to silver, and honorable mentions to bronze. This effort did not quiet the grumbling. European exhibitors complained that they had not been judged fairly. Commissioner Macchi had promised that an international jury would evaluate their exhibits and make the awards. The exposition's board failed to appoint non-Americans to the jury, and by the time it assembled in Atlanta, Chairman Daniel Coit Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University, had decided that there was not enough time to broaden representation on the panel. As a result many exhibitors from abroad refused to permit the jury to judge their entries. They were so incensed that they asserted themselves "in violent form several times" and filed a formal complaint with President Collier. Collier responded by appointing a separate jury to examine international contributions to the exposition.[44]

Although Avery, along with the commissioners for Latin America, had served as honorary members of the original jury chaired by Gilman, those nations also objected to that body's decisions. Collier asked Avery to negotiate with Gilman about making additional awards. Avery acknowledged "great inequality in the distribution of awards, due mostly to an omission to create a Foreign Department and outline a policy for foreign exhibits."

TABLE 1 Medals Awarded at the Cotton States Exposition

COUNTRY	GOLD	SILVER	BRONZE
Mexico	58	33	23
France	57	35	10
Italy	24	39	29
Venezuela	12	25	30
England	9	6	10
Argentina	8	25	16
Chile	8		
Austria	7	6	1
Russia	7	5	
Costa Rica	6	1	29
Germany	4		2
Holland	1	7	3
Belgium	1	5	
Canada	1		
Egypt	1		
West Indies	1		
China		5	
Sweden		1	1
Turkey		1	
Switzerland			1

SOURCE: Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated. Including the Official History of the Exposition* (Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896), 86.

As a result "some exhibits have received such a disproportionate share of awards as to excite natural dissatisfaction in the omitted ones." In particular, Avery cited Venezuela's failure to win a single award for its coffee, even though "coffee is Venezuela's chief article of export" and the nation ranked second in the world in terms of export. By contrast, Costa Rica received twenty-five awards for coffee although its production was less than half that of Venezuela's. He said the jury also unfairly favored Mexico, which received more than a hundred awards "nearly for everything." Avery explained the reaction of those who believed they had been slighted: "You can understand that the sensitive, yes, super-sensitive organism of the Pan-American spirit would fire at such discrimination." Avery also thought that there had been "artful fomenting" and predicted that "whatever we do, I fear that the Argentine gentlemen will kick." As the directors discovered, the United States did not have a monopoly on nationalism.[45]

U.S. nationalism and southern chauvinism, however, drove the international component of the Cotton States Exposition. The United States was on the brink of an overseas empire, and the exposition embodied imperial ambitions. Two situations held potential for the South. The first was the Cuban war for independence, which erupted in February 1895, and the other was the construction of a canal across Central America. Although Cuba was still a colony of Spain's, entrepreneurs in the United States had invested considerable capital in the island. Geography seemed to privilege southern commercial relations with Cuba, whether it remained free, as Cuban revolutionaries hoped, or the United States annexed it, as most people in this country advocated.[46] As for the canal, such a waterway would open the Pacific to southern products and southern ports to ships making the transit.[47] The Cotton States Exposition promoted both the canal and Cuban independence.

The United States and the South figured prominently in the Cuban revolt against the colonial master, Spain. José Martí, the hero

of the war for independence, had lived in the United States since the 1880s, and he galvanized the Cuban expatriates in Tampa, Key West, and elsewhere, including Atlanta, into a powerful movement for independence. In March 1895 he proclaimed independence, and in April he landed in Cuba. By May he was dead, a martyr to the cause. The U.S. government hesitated to become involved in the conflict despite the intense pro-independence (and pro-annexation) sentiment in the country. Not until 1898 would this nation go to war with Spain in a conflict that assuaged lingering sectional bitterness, united North and South, and produced a U.S. overseas empire. In 1895 such things were only possibilities, but anyone seeking coincidences with portent need look no further than the history of the USS *Maine*. The navy commissioned the battleship on the eve of opening day of the exposition, and two months later the *Maine* steamed out of the New York Navy Yard. As the fair closed, the *Maine* was on maneuvers off Newport News, Virginia. A little more than two years later, the ship exploded and sank in Havana Harbor with the loss of 260 lives, an event that helped trigger the Spanish American War.[48]

Organizers of the Cotton States Exposition were solidly in favor of the course history took, but they found little encouragement from the federal government. President Grover Cleveland did not mention Cuba in the speech he made at the exposition, and Vice President Adlai Stevenson pointedly refused to discuss the matter when he toured the grounds. The official U.S. policy in 1895 was one of neutrality, and the administration attempted to enforce that policy by intercepting freedom fighters and weapons headed from the United States to Cuba.[49] Despite this official stand on Cuba, public opinion in the United States heavily favored the revolutionaries. The rivalry between New York newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer fanned sentiment against the Spanish colonial government, and other newspapers joined the campaign for the United States to declare the revolutionaries "bel-

ligerents" so that U.S. citizens could legitimately provide support. As the Cotton States Exposition opened, the *Atlanta Constitution* printed an article headlined "Hear Cuba's Cry," about a petition being circulated by a Cuban resident of Atlanta who owned a cigar factory in Tampa. In early October the national press association called for pro-Cuba dignitaries visiting the exposition to ring the Columbia Bell at midnight during their visit to the exposition; it had been cast for the Chicago fair but was then in Atlanta.[50] The exposition made plans for a Cuba day, first scheduled for late October and then rescheduled for December 17.[51] Two prominent leaders of the Cuban liberation movement, including the president of the Cuban Ladies League of New Orleans, visited Atlanta to shore up support for the cause and for Cuba Day.[52]

In the end, however, Cuba Day never materialized.[53] The reasons are not clear, but a cautionary article published in the *Atlanta Constitution* might have given some southern advocates of Cuban independence pause. The physical appearance of the Cuban exiles who lived in and visited Atlanta did little to convey the racial diversity of the patriot force or the commitment to racial equality on which the revolutionary movement rested. In October, however, the newspaper printed "Two Views of the Cuban Situation."[54] The "pro" revolution account was by a U.S. journalist, but the "con" view was by A. L. Cuesta, a Cuban exile, cigar manufacturer in Tampa, and resident of Atlanta. Cuesta supported revolution in Cuba but not *this* revolution, whose leaders he described as "mostly negroes or foreigners." He named "the negro Antonio Maceo," the commanding general, as "chief instigator" and General Quintin Banderas as "a murderous, unprincipled negro, notorious as an incendiary." Cuesta's description of Cuba must have set white southerners' teeth on edge: "In Cuba we have an army of negroes and a lawless class of citizens headed by negroes who have done nothing but stir up strife since their names have been known to the public." The constructed memory of "Negro rule" following the Civil War merged with an

even more recent horror. The revolt, Cuesta claimed, was "a barbarous, uncivilized war carried on in the manner of our Indian war, where ambuscade, massacre, and incendiaries run rampant." What could be worse than black men leading a savage uprising?

If Cuesta's views helped scuttle Cuba Day, they do not seem to have seriously dampened enthusiasm in Atlanta for the Cubans. The exposition even provided an opportunity for seven members of the Ohio National Guard to desert while their regiment was in attendance; they headed for Cuba to enlist in the revolutionary army.[55] Although some people based their support for the freedom fighters on ideological grounds and drew analogies between the Cuban War for Independence and the American Revolution or the Civil War, most advocates of the Cuban revolutionary cause had more materialistic reasons for their position. The *Atlanta Constitution* published a letter to the editor that made the case for intervention: "If we should interfere in behalf of Cuba it would give us the trade of that country for all time, vastly increase our prestige throughout Spanish America, and have a wonderful effect in building up our industries and directly benefit in many ways nearly all the southern states; above all, such manufacturing cities as Atlanta."[56]

When the newspaper polled prominent citizens of Atlanta, their answers revealed similar sentiments. Hugh Inman responded, "Cuba should be allowed to trade with America. It is almost a part of our country. Yet Spain puts such high duties upon our products that our sales to Cuba are infinitesimal in proportion to what they should be." Colonel John Carey agreed: "If Cuba were free all her trade would come here and our sales to that island alone would be tremendous."[57] Cuba was so important to the United States that some suggested that the United States simply buy the island from Spain and annex it, much to the horror of many Cubans struggling for independence. The pro-annexation forces believed that it was this nation's destiny to control the hemisphere, a theme even more clearly articulated by supporters of the Nicaragua canal.[58]

The issue of the canal found representation in the display of a model of the proposed construction across Nicaragua, an exhibit that garnered a silver medal in the transportation division. The model, entered by the company that held the contract for canal construction, measured eight feet wide by thirty feet long. The three-dimensional diorama depicted the canal cutting through the rugged topography.[59] Since midcentury the United States had been engaged in trying to develop a canal across Central America. After a French firm initiated canal construction in the Isthmus of Panama in 1880, North American interest centered on Nicaragua. In 1884 the United States and Nicaragua negotiated a treaty to join in the construction of the canal, but the Senate refused to ratify it. In the late 1880s a U.S. company signed a contract to build the canal, sent in a survey crew, and work began. When progress lagged in 1893, the Nicaraguan president tried to terminate the contract, but the U.S. State Department stepped in and insisted that Nicaragua honor the agreement. Given the disparity in military resources and a history of U.S. interference in Central America, Nicaragua had little choice but to acquiesce.[60]

At the time of the Cotton States Exposition, circumstances looked favorable for U.S. financial aid in completing the canal. Although plans for projects pursued jointly with other countries, especially Great Britain, surfaced, many Americans held strong sentiments against anything that involved participation by another country. "America must take care of herself," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* opined in a piece reprinted in the *Atlanta Constitution*.[61] In 1895 a measure to charter a new canal company and authorize bonds to support the effort came before Congress, and the president, through the State Department, appointed a board of engineers to study the feasibility of the plan. On October 31, 1895, the board submitted its report, which laid out in excruciating detail the pros and cons of the route, estimated a cost far greater than that anticipated, and recommended against construction.[62] But

there was a silver lining for promoters of a U.S. canal: the French company constructing the canal across Panama had collapsed as a result of soaring costs and casualties. By the end of the decade the United States turned its attention to acquiring the French interests, a transfer formalized in 1903 after the United States precipitated Panamanian secession from Columbia and negotiated with an unauthorized representative of the new Panamanian government.

Perhaps nowhere were there more enthusiastic supporters of the canal than in the South. The Cotton States Exposition designated November 30 "Costa Rica and Nicaragua Canal Day," but interest in the canal eclipsed Costa Rica's substantial contributions to the exposition. Even the commissioners from Costa Rica touted the importance of the canal for both their country and neighboring Nicaragua. Their language was that of partnership and cooperation, however, while that of fair organizers was both patronizing and imperialistic. W. A. Hemphill, former Atlanta mayor and principle owner of the *Atlanta Constitution,* urged the United States to assume the leadership in canal building: "Our little sister, Nicaragua, is unable to do the work necessary and Uncle Sam, and not a foreign nation, should lend a few of his ample millions to aid in searching America for new attractions for trade." Such investment, Hemphill claimed, "would all come back with heavy interest; our trade with China, Japan and the islands of the sea would increase so readily that the wisdom of the movement would be more than apparent." The South, in particular, stood to benefit from the canal: "Southern manufactures would be stimulated to a degree beyond our present knowledge and riches would pour into the lap of our great land."[63]

Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama, a major promoter of the canal, could not attend the festivities, but he sent a message, which Avery read to the audience. In language reminiscent of the Monroe Doctrine, Morgan insisted that the canal was an "'American Question' in which the assistance of any trans-Atlantic power is not

needed and its interference would be unwelcome." Furthermore, national security and prosperity demanded that the United States control the canal rather than a "feeble state" in Central America. The profits from tolls, he predicted, would be immense, and the construction time and cost much less than predicted.[64]

In the week after Costa Rica and Nicaragua Canal Day, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran the headline "The Canal Is a Necessity." The editorial pointed out that Great Britain was three thousand miles closer to China, Japan, and Australia than the United States, but the Nicaraguan canal would make those nations closer to the United States than to Britain. Furthermore, the canal promised to facilitate trade with the Pacific nations of South America — Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. The canal would "stimulate our cotton mill industry, and when we manufacture all of our cotton at home, Liverpool will no longer be able to fix the price of the staple." The newspaper proclaimed, "The South should not rest until this new highway of trade is completed. . . . Through Nicaragua, from ocean to ocean, lies the pathway which will lead to our commercial independence and prosperity."[65] The independence of Central America was not an issue.

With its military parades and expansionist rhetoric, the Cotton States Exposition gave little hint of anti-imperialistic sentiments, but many southerners had serious reservations about U.S. expansion. They recognized that people of color inhabited most of the world and that incorporating them into a U.S. empire presented serious problems. While Senator Morgan was promoting imperialism, other prominent southern politicians raised objections. Even the *Atlanta Constitution,* which advocated all kinds of economic expansion, waffled on the issue of empire building.[66] The nation's honor served as a theme for anti-imperialists, who found colonies antithetical to democratic principles, but race also provided a central argument against expansion. In the 1899 debate about the an-

nexation of the Philippines, Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina drew from his state's experience to argue that the incorporation of nonwhites into the United States was inadvisable: "We understand and realize what it is to have two races side by side that can not mix or mingle without deterioration and injury to both and the ultimate destruction of the civilization of the higher." As a result he opposed the move: "I would save this country from the injection into it of another race question which can only breed bloodshed."[67] Only nine of twenty-eight southern senators voted for annexation, an indication of serious misgivings about imperialism.

Race formed an ideological base for both imperialism and anti-imperialism, and expositions became a powerful tool for globalizing popular attitudes about race.[68] In the late nineteenth century characteristics believed to be immutable grouped people together and distinguished them from all other human beings. Individual differences between members of a specific race, most people thought, did not change the fact that they shared essential elements that defined who they were and what they could achieve. Efforts to describe and differentiate between the different races resulted in extraordinarily simplistic depictions. The Smithsonian display of "twelve of the most characteristic types of the human species" is a good example: curators had grouped the statues by perceived skin color, dressed them in the most elaborate costumes imaginable, and endowed them with exotic accoutrements intended to astonish visitors.[69] These lifeless statues shaped images of the entire cultures and societies they represented and encouraged visitors to essentialize them in a way that militated against individuality and change.

White southerners expressed essentialism in ways ranging from disfranchising African Americans, whom they regarded as universally inferior despite many individual accomplishments over generations, to expressing surprise that the college-educated banker Kee Owyang wore "American style . . . clothes of the very latest cut, and a derby hat of the most recent shape and fashion."[70] White

Americans measured their own individual contemporary accomplishments against what often were outdated and generalized practices of others. This calculation contributed to the overall purpose of their expositions: the inventions, products, learning, and art on display in the official buildings projected the superiority of the United States. Other cultures served as foils against which to measure the achievements of the host. The foreign exhibits in the main buildings of the Cotton States Exposition did not entirely succeed at this task. They were too few in number and too idiosyncratic to provide a clear contrast to the displays from the United States.

Fairgoers had to learn their global lessons elsewhere, and the most popular schoolrooms were the ethnographic villages located on the midway. The exposition's publicist suggested that the "anthropological display," as he denoted the villages, revealed what "but for the grace of God everyone might be."[71] The "German Village" was a beer hall sponsored by the Atlanta Brewing and Ice Company, but other ethnographic villages presented what purported to be an accurate representation of exotic cultures, complete with living people. In addition to the Old Plantation and the American Indian Village, the midway featured the Gypsy Village, Chinese Village, Streets of Cairo, and the Dahomey Village. Admission to the fair did not include visits to these attractions, so visitors had to pay an additional entrance fee for each village. Private concessionaires operated them, and their goal was to turn a profit, not to educate patrons or stimulate trade. The villages depicted everyday life, presented displays that often included photographs, and staged performances. They also sold handicrafts, food, and drink, and the Streets of Cairo offered donkey and camel rides.[72] Organizers located Japanese and Mexican villages on the main grounds, but they considered these attractions, as well as Buffalo Bill's Wild West, to be part of the midway because they were private enterprises designed to entertain.

M. Fujisawa, the Japanese concessionaire, requested a site away

from the midway because he planned a "high class" attraction in contrast to the somewhat tawdry and sensationalist villages on the midway.[73] Organizers allotted him a place near the center of the grounds on the banks of the lake, Clara Meer, perhaps because they conceived of Japanese culture as the most advanced of any in Asia and, therefore, inappropriate for portrayal on the midway. The Meiji Restoration in 1868, which returned the emperor to the throne but placed power in the hands of an entrepreneurial elite, resulted in the rapid centralization, industrialization, and militarization of the nation.[74] The dramatic changes led many westerners to conclude, in the words of an *Atlanta Constitution* correspondent, that the Japanese were "a patriotic and an advanced people . . . destined to rank among the great ones of the world." They were "the aristocracy of the Orient."[75] The crushing Japanese defeat of China at the Battle of Weihaiwei early in 1895, an event reenacted with fireworks each night for several weeks at the fair, and victory in the Sino-Japanese War confirmed Japan's superiority. The Smithsonian honored the Japanese with an extensive display of their ceramics in the Government Building, and the quality and age of the items gave further credence to the Japanese as a thoroughly "civilized" people. At the village fountains played in the midst of landscaped gardens, the concessionaire displayed an array of handicrafts, acrobats entertained audiences, and kimono-attired women served tea. In the evening paying customers watched the fireworks from seats constructed on the bank of Clara Meer.[76] The Japanese were far superior, most believed, to the detested Chinese.

Just because the Japanese ranked ahead of other Asian peoples, however, did not mean that they struck Atlantans as familiar. The exposition's agent explained to the *New York Times* that at the Japanese building "all the work is done backward." He referred specifically to shaping wood, but the comment revealed a deeper construction of the Japanese as the "other."[77] The Atlanta journal-

ist who covered the Sino-Japanese War also developed serious reservations about the superiority of Japanese culture. Appalled by Japanese brutality, he concluded that however civilized the Japanese elite seemed, "the element of barbarism has not yet been entirely expunged from the lower classes." He compared the Japanese to American Indians, "who, educated in eastern schools, return to their native homes and in many cases relapse into barbarism." For ordinary Atlantans the physical appearance of the Japanese was enough to determine their status. The chief of concessions had to intercede when whites-only Atlanta hotels refused to rent Fujisawa a room because their proprietors considered him to be "colored."[78]

The location of the Mexican Village reflected the high priority the directors placed on stimulating trade with Mexico, but other factors contributed to its location along Piedmont Avenue at the west end of Clara Meer. Concessionaire James P. Porteous of St. Louis, president of the Mexican Village Exposition Company, requested an exceptionally large site, roughly three acres, and promised to erect a village costing $100,000. He intended to present "a characteristic and picturesque representation of Mexican life, comprising scenes between Yucatan and Rio Grande." The attractions within the village were numerous — the San José mission, a replica of the portals that framed the Zócolo (La Plaza de la Constitución) in Mexico City, a thirty-foot-high gateway reminiscent of Mayan ruins, and a small "plantation" with exhibits illustrating coffee's cultivation and processing. A restaurant and *pulquería* satisfied hungry and thirsty visitors. A theater, bandstand, and arena would host music, acrobats, and bullfights. Indeed, the primary reason the concessionaire needed such a large site was to accommodate the bullring.[79]

The publicist for the Cotton States Exposition proclaimed that the bullfight would "rival the Wild West show as a drawing card." What it actually drew was a storm of public criticism. Well aware of

the squeamishness of Norteamericanos, the concessionaire promised that the bullfight would be "carried out without the slightest cruelty." He planned to pad the horns of the bulls, protect the horses with embossed leather shields, and arm the matadors with a telescoping sword for the "death-stroke." At the end of this bloodless bullfight, the somewhat irritated but unharmed bull would saunter back to its pen to await the next performance. But a gadfly named William Hosea Ballou got wind of the bullfight.

Claiming to represent the American Humane Society of New York, Ballou headed to Georgia, ready to brave the possibility of lynching to stop the bullfight. When the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, an older organization, inquired of the exposition directors as to the truth of rumors about a bullfight, the directors set forth plans for the sham corrida and laid to rest that organization's concerns. Ballou, however, demanded that the directors halt the event. When they refused, he appealed to the secretary of the treasury to stop the importation of the bulls. When that failed, he demanded impeachment of the secretary. He accosted the governor of Georgia, who told him that the bullfight would go on: "Atlanta wants it and Atlanta always gets what she wants." Ballou replied: "Never! Never! Never!" For their part the directors initially welcomed the publicity; the news stories made Ballou seem more and more ridiculous by dubbing him "W. Hosiery Balloon," accusing him of "tilting at windmills," and printing doggerel:

> He would shoot on the shores
> All the mad matadors
> That brainlessly bothered a bull!

The drumbeat of criticism from Ballou, however, began to take its toll. The ASPCA denounced him, but the organization wanted the controversy ended because it feared Ballou would make "the protection of animals a subject of ridicule." The Women's Christian

Temperance Union in Atlanta adopted a resolution in opposition to the bullfight, and the national organization lent its support, even to the point of trying to halt display of the Liberty Bell at the exposition unless it banned the fight. Exposition directors worried that the bullfight controversy was overshadowing all other features of the exposition, and in late August, as the bullring was going up, they voted to ban it from the grounds.[80]

That action did not end the bullfighting saga. The decision of the directors forced Porteous to discharge the fourteen bullfighters he had brought from Mexico, a move that prompted them to threaten a suit for wages. He reinstated them and ordered them to parade about the grounds attired in their colorful regalia. The bullfighters, however, were not happy with the arrangement, and only a few wore "their regular fighting costume" to parade. Threatened with dismissal, they eventually complied; only Bayon adamantly refused. The concessionaire fired him, and the other matadors walked out. Porteus now had no matadors, but he did have a bull imported for the fight at a cost of $150, so he turned the animal loose in the bullring to snort and paw. When the animal was exhausted from tearing up hats and other items that patrons tossed to him, a man tried to ride him around the ring. Finally, horsemen lassoed the bull and returned him to his paddock, where he ate prodigious quantities of hay.

Compared with a bullfight, this was pretty tame stuff, so Zeferino Dominguez, the manager of the striking matadors, got a better idea. Having secured local financing, he erected a bullring just outside the grounds and adjacent to the Aragon Hotel, where many visitors to the exposition stayed. Because the city and state already had taken the position that the sham fight was legal, authorities could do little to thwart Dominguez. The want of a bull almost derailed the fight, but organizers located a sufficiently ferocious specimen in the Florida Everglades and shipped him to Atlanta. Finally, on November 1 Atlantans got the opportunity to

witness the great drama of life and death, except, of course, there was little danger of the latter since Dominguez scrupulously adhered to the original rules. The matadors took turns provoking the bull to charge them before the star of the show, Manuel Caballero, performed the final act with an "imitation sword."[81]

In the nineteenth century those who engaged in bullfighting had ancestral ties to Spain, Portugal, or southern France. Why they fought bulls, and other people of European ancestry did not, provided an opportunity for much speculation about racial difference that centered on stereotypes of hot-blooded Latins and the more refined sensibilities of Anglo-Saxons. An Atlanta delegation that visited Mexico to invite President Díaz to the Cotton States Exposition had attended a corrida, but most "had become sick of the bullfight" and left early. One spectator commented, "I never want to see another." Although southern states had passed laws against animal cruelty by the 1890s, the delegation represented a society in which hunting wild animals was a highly regarded male pastime, and the slaughter of domestic animals was a scene to which virtually everyone was exposed. Perhaps it was not the blood but the blood lust that troubled members of the delegation. Coverage of the trip in the *Atlanta Constitution* began, "Three bulls had been slaughtered. Two more sleek, well bred, high tempered ones were ready for the ring. Excitement ran high. The gaily dressed Mexican throng had yelled itself hoarse." At the conclusion of the bullfight, with its ritualized killing of the bull, the crowd was "delighted."[82]

The passion of the spectators, unpredictability of the bull, and seeming foolhardiness of the matador combined with the slaughter of the animal to unnerve the Atlanta visitors. They represented the industrial order of the modern world, whose progress the exposition celebrated; the bullfight harkened to an ancient world that challenged modernity. The devotion of Mexicans to their national sport suggested that they were irredeemably caught in that world and incapable of progress. The persistence of the bull-

fight in Mexico, according to the ASPCA, was "an outrage upon American civilization."[83] Many Norteamericanos regarded the sport as simply a metaphor for Mexico itself — wild, crude, primitive, backward.[84]

Bullfighting was a masculine art.[85] It was overtly sexual — the brilliantly colored costumes, the tight-fitting toreador pants, the strutting, the teasing of the bull, the pelvic thrusts, the welling excitement, the thrilling climax — must have made late nineteenth-century Norteamericanos a bit uncomfortable, especially since it was a drama played out in front of enormous audiences, not in backstreet bordellos. Still firmly in the grip of nineteenth-century Victorianism, with its emphasis on sexual restraint, Atlantans both sought the spectacle and recoiled from it. "Excitement and danger" characterized the sham bullfight that actually took place in Atlanta, but voiding the climax demonstrated restraint and made the sham more culturally acceptable.[86] Self-control separated the event as acted out in Atlanta from the more authentic spectacle, just as strength of will enabled "civilized" men to control their baser instincts and distinguished them from savages. Southern whites explained segregation laws and violence against African Americans in terms of the inability of black men to curb their sexual desires, a hallmark of savagery that was intrinsic.[87] Raw sexuality was a dangerous thing, especially in men of color, and if padding the bull's horns checked the ardor of the crowd, Atlantans could breathe a sigh of relief.

Unrepressed female sexuality was also a marker of savagery, and Atlantans had to look no farther than the midway to find that as well. The "Chinese beauties" titillated, as did an international beauty show, but not as aggressively as the dancers at the Streets of Cairo. This midway attraction had been a hit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and promoters of the Cotton States Exposition applauded when the same concessionaire applied to bring the show to Atlanta. The Streets of Cairo involved far more than dancing.

In a popular expression of orientalism the attraction drew together the whole of the Middle East into a fanciful image that bore little resemblance to life in any part of the region.[88] The hundred residents of the village reportedly included "Algerians, Turks, Nubians, Moors and every other race that is a part of the eastern countries represented." Entertainers ranged from sword fighters and "gun spinners" to acrobats and dervishes. Musicians played, and a daily wedding procession with "various peoples of every clime from the lady of Egyptian royal birth to the Nubian slave" made its way through the streets. Visitors paid for donkey and camel rides and bought Turkish candy, tobacco, and coffee. But the real attraction, the one that drew in record crowds, was the women "with their dark eyes and olive skin" who were reputed to be "the most graceful women on earth in the dance." The *Atlanta Constitution* breathlessly announced: "There will be Nautch [Indian] girls, Egyptian dancing girls, Algerian dancing girls."[89]

The dance performed at the Streets of Cairo, called a muscle dance, coutah-coutah, coochee dance, or *dance de ventre,* was not what we commonly think of today as a belly dance or an exotic dance. The women were fully covered, but they were not corseted, and late nineteenth-century observers found the lithe and fluid movements of their unrestricted bodies exceedingly sensual.[90] The midway barker described it as "the most unique dance ever seen in any country." Then he addressed the most germane issue for many Atlantans: "Is it a moral dance?" The answer was, "No, no, my friends: a moral dance is not what you come here to see. It is a wicked, a lawless dance — but beautiful, wonderful."[91] The exposition had been open only ten days when the *Atlanta Constitution* reported discussions "as to whether or not some of the features of the Streets of Cairo theater should be suppressed." The newspaper predicted that "they will not be" because the same dance had been put on at the Paris and Chicago expositions. Furthermore, an American

woman, using the name Carmencita, had been performing a similar dance throughout the country since 1890, a performance filmed in 1894 as one of the first studio motion pictures. Nevertheless, Carmencita's dance "was a mere suggestion of that which was seen on the streets of Cairo." By contrast, the version performed on the midway was "thoroughly abandoned."[92]

The theater was crowded at every performance, and women as well as men went to see it. The newspaper acknowledged that "it is one of the fads of the present day, which must and will have its run and which everybody will see." Cautioning visitors that this was not "the national dance of Egypt" but "the dance of the Bowery theaters in Cairo," the *Atlanta Constitution* acknowledged that "it is the most difficult of all dances to perform and is one which all want to see once, but rarely the second time." The dance made the Streets of Cairo by far the most profitable attraction on the midway. Its receipts totaled $5,422.91, rendering it the only attraction that grossed more than $4,000. It commanded so much attention that the National Association of Manufacturers went on record in opposition to its being performed at fairs because the spectacle diverted visitors from other exhibits.[93]

By late October the dance had come to the attention of the state legislature, which, finding no law on the books that forbade such a thing, promptly attempted to pass one. The representative who introduced the bill banning the *dance du ventre* declared that it "not only shocks the modesty of visitors, but makes the inmates of that house ashamed of themselves." To prevent embarrassment of ladies who might accidentally wander inside, he stationed himself at the gates to the Streets of Cairo in order to steer them away. Opposition to the bill was slight, but one brave representative responded that he knew of no law that compelled people to attend performances of the dance. He reminded his colleague that he could not "purify the moral atmosphere by passing statutes." As for the performers,

the opposing representative suggested that "you might try just as well to prevent the bear in the animal show from doing those indecent dances." The implication was that fairgoers could make moral choices. The women who danced, however, did so instinctively and without the guidance of a moral compass. The bill passed the Georgia House 127 to 7 and went to the state senate.[94]

The Senate did not reconvene until the next week, so legislators who had not seen the objectionable performance now had a chance to do so. An editorial in the *Atlanta Constitution* captured the attraction and horror of the dance that one legislator felt: "It was all new to him. It was fascinating. It charmed him with its magnetism. But there was something about it which shocked him. . . . But having seen it, and being susceptible of going again, he arose in his virtue and dignity as a statesman yesterday and made the muscle dance . . . a violation of the laws of the state." Tongue in cheek, the newspaper announced that "the Georgia legislator is a genius. He not only knows a good thing when he sees it, but he knows a bad thing." In the end the Georgia Senate seems to have moved on to other bills, including ones that gave married women control of their own earnings and raised the age of consent to fourteen, and did not take up the proposed legislation.[95]

The brouhaha about the Streets of Cairo reveals the tension in late Victorian attitudes about sex, but it also points us to the ways in which whites used sexuality to construct the "other." The same rules of sexual conduct did not apply to whites and to people of color. A darker skin indicated a supercharged libido, one that had to be constrained on the part of men and could be exploited in women. To whites, dark-skinned women signaled sexual availability. Therefore, they ogled Chinese women who appeared in court, Middle Eastern women who performed on stage, and African American women who went about their ordinary business. The kind of overt sexuality that whites ascribed to people of color contrasted with the rigid moral code that Europeans believed or-

dered their own sexual relations. The failure of non-Europeans to develop such a code, and their apparent inability to abide by the one Europeans introduced to them, provided evidence of their inferiority. When whites attended the performances at the Streets of Cairo, hired Chinese prostitutes, or forced themselves on African American women, such actions represented a personal failing, not the weakness of whites' moral code. This distinction confirmed their own culture's superiority.

The implications of that conviction were especially clear at the Dahomey Village. The barely clad, dark-skinned women, huddled about an open fire in front of a grass hut, contrasted starkly with the well-dressed throngs that strolled among the grand buildings that celebrated the South's progress. Banners advertised residents of the Dahomey Village as cannibals; the women's section of the *Atlanta Constitution* described the African woman as "entirely like an ape." Periodically, sounds of drums and singing emanated from the village, and the Dahomeyans paraded through the midway "savagely nude" while singing "weird airs."[96] For paying visitors residents of the village dramatized the 1871 encounter of the explorer Henry Morton Stanley and Dr. David Livingstone in central Africa. The muddling of places in Africa mirrors that which occurred in the Streets of Cairo exhibit. Dahomey, today the People's Republic of Benin, is on the coast of West Africa. Stanley found Livingston in what is today Tanzania, a nation in East Africa. Most Americans, however, thought of Africa as a monolith. They referred to it as the "Dark Continent," both unknown and benighted, and they regarded the people as radically different from those in the United States and western Europe. Visitors to the Cotton States Exposition found a compelling example of that difference. One of the features of the Dahomey Village was "Amazon Warriors." Since the seventeenth century, the king of Dahomey had used women warriors, first as bodyguards and then as elite troops, and by the mid-nineteenth century they comprised a third of the Dahomey

army. The scarified, red-marked faces and reportedly fierce temperaments of the Amazons, as Europeans called these women warriors, attracted considerable attention at a number of late nineteenth-century expositions. They seemed to be not only the opposite of late nineteenth-century white women but perversions of the divine order of the universe.[97]

An incident one afternoon illustrated what whites perceived as the proper relationship between the Dahomeyans and themselves. "Four savages from Dahomey," the *Atlanta Constitution* reported, "trotted up in front of the government building" bearing a "bearded man in a Stanley costume" in a litter suspended from poles. The appearance of these men marked them as savages: they were "attired a la mode, with beadwork tattooing across their brawny breasts, and loins girded scantily. Their hair stood out in matted shocks and they panted like horses when the man commanded them to stop." A young woman from Kentucky, "with eyes bluer than the grass of her native heath and a glance more intoxicating than a draught fresh from a bourbon still," wanted to ride in the litter. The "wild eyed cannibal," who "leered gently" at her, agreed, and they carried her around the grounds until "their master" called for them. The physical appearance of the Africans marked them as uncivilized, and one might well expect them to leer at a white woman. In her innocence she had done something daring — the newspaper termed it a "spectacle" — and it had drawn a crowd. No harm came of it, however, because the "master" was in control.[98] In the racial climate of late nineteenth-century Atlanta, leering — even "gently" — at a young white woman was a dangerous thing to do, and acceding to her wish probably took some courage. On the other hand, the scenario preserved a proper relationship between mistress and servants, which, as unorthodox as it was, made it acceptable. Furthermore, the exoticism of the bearers, their foreignness, afforded them some leeway.

Few visitors to the Dahomey Village questioned the depiction of Africa and Africans because most people knew little about the continent, except that Europeans were bringing civilization to it by carving it up into colonial empires. Dahomey Villages appeared at expositions around the globe because they served imperial goals: Europeans offered Africans civilization that could lift them out of the savagery that the villages depicted. At the Cotton States Exposition, however, the ideological value of the Dahomey Village lay primarily in the contrast it provided to civilized African Americans. Slavery presumably had saved African Americans from the savagery of Africa, and the popularity of the Dahomey Village, not only in Atlanta but also at expositions in Chicago, San Francisco, and elsewhere throughout the country, represented a growing consensus on race among white Americans.[99]

The one challenge to this view at the Cotton States Exposition came from Bishop Henry M. Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. As Turner strolled down the midway one day, he heard the barker urge visitors to see the "wild cannibals from the west coast of Africa." Turner verbally accosted the man: "Why do you white men pursue the negro to Africa with your lying?" The barker questioned what the elderly black man knew about the subject. Turner, an advocate of African American emigration to Africa, actually had lived in Africa, and artifacts he collected there were on exhibit in the Negro Building. "There are not, and never have been, any cannibals on the west coast of Africa," he charged. "You are simply repeating some of the lies told by white men who went to Africa and had to lie about the country to magnify their own efforts and pose as heroes of great courage and endurance." Turner was willing to grant that Africans might be "heathens and uncivilized," but they also were "more peaceable and gentle than many of you civilized and enlightened white men here in America." He concluded his tirade by reiterating, "Stop your lying about the negro."

Turner's anger stemmed not only from the lies but also from the use to which whites put the lies.[100]

Of all the foreigners at the fair, those who staffed the ethnographic villages were the least powerful, and they left the sparsest record. Consequently, how residents of ethnographic villages viewed their role in the Cotton States Exposition is not known, but there are clues. The Chinese women testified in court that they were participating of their own free will. They might have spoken under duress, but they also might have found working in a midway show preferable to the poverty of their homeland or the subservient position they would have occupied as wives in the households of their in-laws. If their presence at the Cotton States Exposition was a charade intended to subvert the Chinese Exclusion Act, they conceivably were complicit in that act of defiance and resisters of a racist policy. The bullfighters in the Mexican Village seemed happy enough until organizers canceled the bullfight. Then they went on strike and perhaps even resorted to arson, the crime of the powerless. Two days after their walkout a small fire broke out at the entrance to the village, and just before the exposition closed, a second fire claimed one life and destroyed much of the personal property of the residents of the village.[101] The only act of resistance by the dancers at the Streets of Cairo occurred when a Chinese man entered the theater and took a seat in the front row. Fatima "suddenly stopped the dance and swooped down upon the oriental like a whirlwind." The police had to break up the fight. The man had violated Fatima's sense of racial propriety, and, although he had paid the admission fee, she was determined not to dance for him.[102] The Dahomeyans in Atlanta demonstrated no such volatility, but in Chicago the Dahomeyan women allegedly chanted in their own language a refrain that translated as, "If you will come to our country we will take pleasure in cutting your white throats." When a white woman from Atlanta who visited the Chicago fair pointed at the facial scars and paint of a Dahomey woman, the Dahomeyan

attacked her with an axe handle, which the "victim" fended off with her silk parasol until bystanders restrained the enraged woman. Whether these accounts are true or not, they indicate that the Dahomeyans were not happy being midway attractions — or they were perhaps simply hype to stimulate the sale of admissions.[103]

As an enterprise to globalize the South, the Cotton States Exposition met with limited success, at least on a superficial level. Only five nations sent official exhibits, and even private commercial exhibits were spotty. Global education took place primarily on the midway, where stereotype and fabrication prevailed. Most visitors to the fair probably left with no more accurate information about the world than Samuel Hall had had when he wrote Isaac Avery about opportunities for young men in South America. But the South, like the nation, was on the threshold of an overseas empire. Just more than two years after the exposition closed, the United States went to war with Spain and ended up with colonies in the Pacific and Caribbean. The Cotton States Exposition helped prepare southerners for that development, not by providing a global education but by encouraging white southerners to apply their ideas about race to the rest of the world.

The Cotton States Exposition took place as white supremacists consolidated and strengthened their hold on the region's economic and political life. As organizers looked to the future, they did not see international partnerships; instead, they imagined a commercial empire rooted in their most cherished beliefs — the superiority of whites and the subordination of people of color. At the end of the century the rest of the nation shared that vision. This legacy has been a hard one for southerners and other Americans to renounce, and many people continue to harbor misgivings about trade policies, outsourcing of jobs, immigration, and other global issues. Atlanta and the South, however, have become major players on the world stage. Home to CNN and host to the Olympic Games in 1996, Atlanta boasts eighteen sister cities and consuls from more than

thirty countries. According to the Kauffman Foundation, in 2008 Georgia ranked fifteenth and Texas, South Carolina, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida placed in the top twenty states in terms of "globalization indicators," that is, foreign exports and investment.[104] The region may finally be realizing the global South that organizers of the Cotton States Exposition envisioned but on very different terms than any they could have embraced.

EPILOGUE

The Cotton States and International Exposition closed on December 31, 1895. The buildings, intended to be temporary, gradually fell into disrepair and were demolished. In 1904 the City of Atlanta bought the land on which the exposition had taken place from the Piedmont Park Exposition Company. The park, which the exclusive Piedmont Driving Club originally had owned, became a public green space, but its facilities were rigidly segregated for the next sixty years. Today few physical traces of the Cotton States Exposition remain. Clara Meer, the lake at the center of the exposition, is there, as is the Grand Plaza, an oval that now sports an athletic field and track instead of the formal gardens of the exposition. The rustic stone steps that lead from one level to another, and the planters that adorn the landings, are left from the exposition. The railroad right-of-way that conveyed fairgoers to Atlanta in the 1890s is still at the edge of the park, but it is eerily silent. Similarly, few explicit reminders of the racial segregation that the exposition helped entrench survive. Visitors to the park on a sunny May afternoon when I was last there were black, white, Hispanic, Asian, native born, foreign, rich, poor, old, young: the word "diversity" does not do them justice. Over the shade trees, the green grass, and the sparkling water loomed the skyscrapers of Atlanta's midtown. These striking edifices signify a prosperous modern Atlanta that exposition organizers could never have imagined. Nor could they have entertained the notion that all races enjoy the park without friction or violence. Sometimes nostalgia leads us to long for what was, but as I conclude these essays and think about that warm

afternoon in the park, I am relieved that the evidence of the Cotton States Exposition does not include the racial system that for so long sapped the vitality of the city and region. Whether we can obliterate its scars remains to be seen. Modern Atlanta does not so much reflect the ambitions of fair organizers as it does the dreams of those whom organizers sought to oppress, ignore, or exploit. This little book has tried to prevent the ambitions from completely overshadowing those experiences and dreams.

APPENDIX

TEACHING THE COTTON STATES EXPOSITION

These lectures linked teaching and research more closely than anything else I ever have written. I used the opportunity presented by the Averitt Lectures to develop a first-year seminar, "The Cotton States Exposition and the New South." The University of North Carolina initiated the First-Year Seminars to enable faculty to work with small groups of freshmen to create an intellectual community of active learning. Students in my FYS began by reading two books, Edward L. Ayers, *Southern Crossing: A History of the American South, 1877–1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Then we turned to the *Atlanta Constitution*. Using the online ProQuest Historical Newspapers, I selected about two hundred representative articles, which we read in four weeks. In seminar meetings we discussed the context of the articles. We searched the Internet to find out about people, places, events, institutions, and ideas mentioned in the articles and, in the process, learned how to evaluate Web sites, including Wikipedia. We toured the various libraries at UNC to discover what there was on paper about the exposition. One of the most memorable moments came in the Rare Book Room, where a student held in her hands an official guide to the exposition and asked incredulously, "You

mean someone who went to the Cotton States Exposition took this very book with them?" By midterm students had selected topics on which to write ten-page papers, and during the next month we went through the process of doing a research paper. Each student wrote a précis, developed a bibliography of primary and secondary sources, took research notes, drew up an outline, wrote a draft that both a student writing partner and I critiqued, and polished the draft into a final paper. History graduate students David Silkenat and Josh Davis, whom the Office of Undergraduate Research funded as graduate research consultants, provided additional help to students along the way. Topics for papers ranged widely — religion, memory, temperance, sports, women's rights, the Smithsonian, crime, politics, foreign affairs, the Negro Building, architecture, and various midway attractions. Each paper tied specific events at the fair to the New South. The seminar was not all work — there was some play. Seminar participants went to the North Carolina State Fair (once by train), and we compared that fair with the exposition.

These lectures benefited substantially from the spirited class discussions and the insights that students revealed in their papers. Therefore, I want to acknowledge the members of each seminar. From fall semester 2007 they are Rob Ackerman, Leslie Allison, Stephen Bracewell, Kristie Brown, Ashley Buchanan, Philip Carr, Lizzie Hastings, Mac Hill, Will Hoyle, Rhea Keller, Courtney McCluney, Kate McKee, Chikara Nkele, Staci Pegues, Lauren Ratcliffe, Chip Summers, Will Tate, Justin Webb, and Fred Wellborn. From fall semester 2008 Jordan Boone, Diana Daniels, Latifah Davis, Sam Hudson, Taylor Jackson, Ben Jordan, Josh Joyner, Rose Lambert-Sluder, Jacob Martin, Derek Murray, Harrison Peel, Alessandra Salgueiro, Jeremy Sanders, Amber Sauls, Benton Whitaker, and Hill Winstead.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The fair opened on September 18 and closed on December 31, 1895. This was neither the first nor the last southern exposition. Atlanta had held major expositions in 1881 and 1887, Louisville in 1883, and New Orleans in 1884–85. The Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897, the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition in 1901–2, and the Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition in 1907 followed the Cotton States Exposition. At the time and subsequently, references to the event have shortened its name.

2. Robert H Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

3. An expanded version of Turner's paper appears in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt, 1920).

4. *The Atlanta Exposition and South Illustrated* (Chicago: Adler Art Publishing, 1893), 156.

5. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Also see Judy L. Larson, "Three Southern World's Fairs: Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, 1895, Tennessee Centennial, Nashville, 1897, South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition, Charleston, 1901–2: Creating Regional Self-Portraits through Expositions" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1998); Bruce G. Harvey, "World's Fairs in a Southern Accent: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, 1895–1902" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1998).

CHAPTER ONE. Beyond the "Atlanta Compromise"

1. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 18, 1895; also printed in *New York Times*, Sept. 19, 1895. (All references to the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *New*

York Times are from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.) The speech is reprinted in a number of other places, including Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday, 1901), 218, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/washington/washing.html, and *The Booker T. Washington Papers Online*, ed. Louis R. Harlan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 3:578–87, http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/index.html. W. E. B. Du Bois, subsequently one of Washington's harshest critics, dubbed it the "Atlanta Compromise" (W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*, 3rd ed. [Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903], 42). For an analysis that places the speech in the context of Washington's life experiences, especially his education at Hampton, see Taylor A. McKenzie, "Booker T. Washington in Atlanta Revisited" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1985). Robert J. Norrell admirably situates the speech in the contemporary racial climate in "Understanding the Wizard: Another Look at the Age of Booker T. Washington," in *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress:* Up from Slavery *One Hundred Years Later*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), 58–80. Norrell's biography of Washington expands on that theme with a more sympathetic portrayal of him than that of most biographers; see *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008). For another account of the speech see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 325–33.

2. Reporter James Creelman's account appears in Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 238–41. Washington's speech received international coverage. The *Mexican Herald*, for example, commented on his "native eloquence" and the "thunderous applause" he received (Oct. 6, 1895).

3. Washington was a complex character, and Louis R. Harlan captures that complexity in "The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Southern History* 37 (1971): 393–416, and "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Accommodation," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier, eds., *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 1–18. Harlan recounts Washington's experiences with the Cotton States Exposition in the biography *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856–1901* (New York: Oxford University Press,

1972), 204–28. Also see August Meier, "Toward a New Interpretation of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Southern History* 23 (1957): 220–27, and *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (1963; repr., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

4. See, for example, the description of Atlanta in the *New York Times*, March 14, 1887.

5. "Cotton States and International Exposition," H. rpt. 1023, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess. (1894), serial v. 3271 (LexisNexis U.S. Serial Set Digital Collection), 10; *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 11, 1894; Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 139–58; James M. Russell, *Atlanta: 1847–1890: City Building in the Old South and New* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 232–58; Harold E. Davis, *Henry Grady's New South: Atlanta, a Brave Beautiful City* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990); Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events* (1954; repr., Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969–87), 2:204–305. Auburn won both games (*Atlanta Constitution*, Feb. 22, 1892; Nov. 29, 1895).

6. The following summary description draws heavily on Allison Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875–1906* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), and E. R. Carter, *The Black Side: A Partial History of the Business, Religious and Educational Side of the Negro in Atlanta, Ga.* (Atlanta: n.p., 1894).

7. African Americans in Fulton County numbered 35,397, nearly 42 percent of the total population in 1890. African Americans constituted 47 percent of the population of the state (Historical Census Browser, 2004, retrieved June 14, 2008, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html).

8. Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together*, 54–100.

9. Ibid., 29–53; *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 31, 1890, and Sept. 5, 1891.

10. Charles E. Wynes, "The Politics of Reconstruction, Redemption, and Bourbonism," in Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 207–24; James C. Cobb,

Georgia Odyssey: A Short History of the State, 2nd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 27–31.

11. Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together*, 125–27.

12. *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 31, 1890, and Sept, 5, 1891.

13. Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 147–49, 249–82; Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

14. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 22, Aug. 21, and Oct. 11, 1891; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 38–41 and passim; Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

15. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 355.

16. 18 U.S. Stat. 335. The decision came in *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

17. *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

18. Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together,* 93–95. For the impact of Jim Crow on education, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Adam Fairclough, *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

19. Pauli Murray, *States' Laws on Race and Color* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), provides a useful compendium of segregation laws.

20. Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, "Coon Songs," and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 11–38; Charles S. O'Brien, "Ma Angeline: Greatest Coon Song of the Age," American Memory: Historic American Sheet Music, 1850–1920, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award97/ncdhtml/hasmhome.html; Alice M. Bacon, "The Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," *Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund Occasional Papers* 7 (1916): 8; Norrell, *Up from History*, 116–21.

21. In particular see Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White*

Relations in the American South since Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

22. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 125–26.

23. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889–1918* (New York: Arno, 1969), 41, 44, 57–58.

24. Washington later raised money to mount a legal challenge to disfranchisement (Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, 172–75, 297–98).

25. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 29, 1894, and June 6, 1895.

26. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1897. See LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

27. Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated. Including the Official History of the Exposition, by Walter G. Cooper . . . Also Including Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Visitors. Histories of Each of the Cotton States and Various Illustrations of Scenery, etc.* (Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896), 8; *Atlanta Constitution,* Sept. 22, 1895.

28. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 7, 1894. Turner, a proponent of African American emigration to Africa, supported the exposition even while he criticized it for its limited vision for black Americans and its portrayal of Africa.

29. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 23, 1894; Wesley J. Gaines, *African Methodism in the South; or Twenty-five Years of Freedom* (Atlanta: Franklin, 1890), http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/gaineswj/gaines.html.

30. Cooper, *Cotton States,* 18, 23–24.

31. Ibid., 24. Grant's figures do not quite add up since the Constitution requires the president to be thirty-five years of age.

32. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 27. See also John F. Marszalek, *A Black Congressman in the Age of Jim Crow: South Carolina's George Washington Murray* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006).

33. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 8, 28; *Atlanta Constitution*, June 22, 1894, and Aug. 19, 1894.

34. Bacon, "Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," 10, 19; *Atlanta Constitution,* April 4, 1895.

35. Ida B. Wells, Frederick Douglass, Irving Garland Penn, and Ferdinand L. Barnett, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition*, ed. Robert W. Rydell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). See also Christopher Robert Reed, *"All the World Is Here!" The Black Presence at White City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000). African Americans had held their own segregated local and state fairs. See *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 19, 1893; Melton A. McLaurin, *The North Carolina State Fair: The First 150 Years* (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History and the North Carolina State Fair Division, 2003).

36. Gaines, *African Methodism in the South*.

37. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 372–77.

38. *Watchman*, Aug. 8, 1895, ProQuest American Periodical Series Online (hereafter, APS Online).

39. Bacon, " Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," 10.

40. *Cleveland Gazette*, May 18, 1895.

41. *Washington Bee*, Aug. 31, Sept. 14, and Sept. 21, 1895.

42. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 4, 1895.

43. A. M. DeVaughn to Washington, April 6, 1895, *Washington Papers*, 3:545.

44. *Atlanta Constitution*, May 3, 1895; *The Atlanta Exposition and South Illustrated* (Chicago: Adler Art, [1895]), 53. General Clement A. Evans had turned minister after the war, and he served as state historian. There is no evidence that he or his committee interfered, but the presence of white oversight probably occasioned anxiety on the part of commissioners and exhibitors.

45. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 20 and Aug. 23, 1895; Joanne and Grant Harrison, *The Life and Times of Irving Garland Penn* (Xlibris, 2000), 65.

46. Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, Mass.: Willey, 1891).

47. Wells et al., *Reason Why*, 44–64.

48. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 9; *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 20 and Nov. 6, 1895. An article in the *Washington Bee*, Oct. 26, 1895, reported that

the Southern Railroad had promised African Americans "fine first class Pullman or coach accommodation for the colored people especially."

49. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 13; *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 18, 1894.

50. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 29, 1985; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 34; "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:37; "Plan of Piedmont Park," *Official Guide to the Cotton States and International Exposition* (Atlanta: Franklin, 1895); *Official Catalogue: Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Ga., U.S.A., Sept 18 to Dec. 31, 1895, Illustrated* (Atlanta: Cafflin and Mellichamp, 1895), 134. King was the son of Horace King, a famous nineteenth-century bridge builder who had purchased his freedom and after the Civil War established the firm that his son inherited. See John S. Lupold and Thomas L. French Jr., "Horace King," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia* (Georgia Humanities Council and the University of Georgia Press, 2004–9), http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org, and *Bridging Deep South Rivers: The Life and Legend of Horace King* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

51. *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 7, 8, and 30, 1894; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 29.

52. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 18, 1894.

53. Charles W. Dabney Jr. to Dr. G. Brown Goode, April 12, 1895; W. G. Cooper to Goode, April 13, 1895; and W. F. Johnson to the *Richmond (Va.) Times*, n.d., folder 4, box 43, series 11: The Cotton States and International Exposition (Atlanta, Ga.), 1894–96, Record Unit 70: Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. National Museum, 1867–1940, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.; *Richmond Times*, March 27, 1895; *Atlanta Constitution*, April 17, 1895.

54. "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:36; William and Aimee Lee Cheek, *John Mercer Langston and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1829–65* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Ralph L. Crowder, *John Edward Bruce: Politician, Journalist, and Self-Trained Historian of the African Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Speech of John E. Bruce, Oct. 5, 1889, folder 7, John E. Bruce Collection, Shomburg Collection, New York Public Library, New York, in *Encyclopedia Britannica's Guide to Black History*, http://search.eb.com/blackhistory/article-9399827 (July 3, 2008).

55. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Works*, in *Washington Papers*, 1:72.

56. Irving Garland Penn to Washington, Aug. 19, 1895, *Washington Papers*, 3:568.

57. *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 23, 1895.

58. Penn to Washington, Sept. 9, 1895, *Washington Papers*, 3:575–76.

59. *Savannah Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1895.

60. *Washington Papers*, 3:530n2.

61. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 19, 1895.

62. In part, Washington was responding to several black leaders, including Bishop Turner, who encouraged African Americans to emigrate to Africa.

63. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois to Washington, Sept. 24, 1895, *Washington Papers*, 4:26.

64. *Savannah Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1895.

65. Grover Cleveland to Washington, Oct. 6, 1895, *Washington Papers,* 4:50.

66. *Mexican Herald*, Oct. 6, 1895.

67. *Washington Bee*, Oct. 19, 1895.

68. Ibid., Oct. 26, 1895.

69. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 50–51.

70. T. Thomas Fortune to Washington, Oct. 15, 1895, *Washington Papers,* 4:57.

71. *Washington Bee*, Oct. 26, 1895.

72. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 23, 1895.

73. *Indianapolis World*, Nov. 2, 1895.

74. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 22, 1895.

75. *Mexican Herald*, Nov. 21, 1895.

76. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 57–63; *Atlanta Exposition and South Illustrated*.

77. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28, 1895.

78. *Savannah Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1895.

79. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 42, 57; *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 2, 1896; Penn to Washington, Nov. 2, 1895, *Washington Papers*, 4:70.

80. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 22, 1895. Adrienne Herndon was the wife

of Alonzo Herndon, a barber and entrepreneur who became Atlanta's first black millionaire. See Carole Merritt, *The Herndons: An Atlanta Family* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002).

81. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 22, 1895. For Bowen's life see J. R. Van Pelt, "John Wesley Edward Bowen," *Journal of Negro History* 19 (1934): 17–21. The *Savannah Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1895, urged parents to take this last comment to heart, suggesting that the plea for equal education resonated beyond the academic community.

82. *Savannah Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1895.

83. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, Oct. 27, 1895; *Official Guide*, 60; *Official Catalogue*, 134–146.

84. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22 and Oct. 27, 1895; "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:39; *Official Catalogue*, 143–44.

85. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22 and Oct. 27, 1895; *Savannah Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1895; "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:39; "Exposition Notes," May 24, 1895, folder 1, box 46, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives; Louise Dunham Goldsberry, "The Negro at the Atlanta Exposition," *Zion's Herald*, Oct. 9, 1895, 73, 41, APS Online.

86. *Christian Recorder*, June 13, 1895; *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895.

87. "The Scope of the Atlanta Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 14, 1895, 876; *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 3, 1894; Carter, *Black Side,* 35–38.

88. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895.

89. *Official Catalogue*, 144.

90. "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:40; *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 16, 1895.

91. Goldsberry, "Negro at the Atlanta Exposition."

92. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28, 1895.

93. "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:39.

94. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895; Steven J. Hoffman, *Race, Class, and Power in the Building of Richmond, 1870–1920* (Richmond, Va.: McFarland, 2004), 151–52.

95. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895; Ruth M. Winton, "Negro Participation in Southern Expositions," *Journal of Negro Education* 16 (1947): 37–38.

96. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28 and Sept. 22, 1895; "Exposition Notes," May 24, 1895; Goldsberry, "Negro at the Atlanta Exposition;" Marcia M. Mathews, *Henry Ossawa Tanner, American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1969).

97. "Exposition Notes," May 24, 1895.

98. *Christian Recorder*, June 13, 1895; "Exposition Notes," May 24, 1895.

99. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 27, 1895.

100. Ibid., July 28 and Sept. 22, 1895; Goldsberry, "Negro at the Atlanta Exposition." For one quilter whose work was displayed, see Catherine L. Holmes, "The Darling Offspring of Her Brain: The Quilts of Harriett Powers," in Anita Zaleski Weinraub, ed., *Georgia Quilts: Piecing Together a History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 177–87. The presentation of the African American past was more overt at the Jamestown Tercentary. See W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Meta Warrick's 1907 'Negro Tableaux' and (Re)Presenting African American Historical Memory," *Journal of American History* 89 (2003): 1368–1400.

101. Walter G. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," June 28, 1895, folder 1, box 46, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives; *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28 and Sept. 22, 1895; James A. Porter, *Modern Negro Art* (1943; repr., Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), 57–63. For Sumner see David H. Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), and *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

102. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28 and Sept. 22, 1895; Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *Archibald Grimké: Portrait of a Black Independent* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993).

103. Bacon, "Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," 18. She referred to statistics compiled by Henry Gannett that showed that more than 63 percent of African American men were farmers by occupation. Interestingly, nearly one-fourth of men and more than half of women were servants, which meant that few African Americans were employed in manufac-

turing, trade, transportation, or the professions. See Henry Gannett, "Occupations of the Negro," *Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund Occasional Papers* 6 (1895): 6–9.

104. *Kawkab Amerika*, Feb. 15, 1895.

105. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895.

106. Bacon, "Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," 18.

107. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22 and Oct. 27, 1895.

108. "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," Sept. 28, 1895, in *Washington Papers*, 4:41.

109. George S. Mabry to Stephen B. Weeks, Oct. 20, 1911, North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

110. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 27, 1895.

111. Ibid., Oct. 24, 1895.

112. Bacon, " Negro and the Atlanta Exposition," 24; "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:41.

113. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 22, 1895; Christian A. Fleetwood, *The Negro as Soldier* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Print, 1895), 19.

114. J. W. E. Bowen, ed., *Africa and the American Negro . . . Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa Held Under the Auspices of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa of Gammon Theological Seminary in Connection with the Cotton States and International Exposition December 13–15, 1895* (Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1896), 13, 15, 16, 86, 127.

115. John H. Smyth, "The African in Africa and the Africa in America," in Bowen, *Africa and the American Negro*, 69–83.

116. H. M. Turner, "The American Negro and his Fatherland," in Bowen, *Africa and the American Negro*, 195–98.

117. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 22, 1895.

118. Ibid., Sept. 22 and Nov. 12, 1895.

119. *Washington Papers*, 4:54n2.

120. *Union Signal*, Jan. 2, 1896; *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 28, 29, 1895.

121. *Washington Bee*, Sept. 21 and Oct. 26, 1895.

122. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 22, 1895.

123. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1895.

124. Ibid.; "Are These Things So?" *Zion's Herald*, Nov. 13, 1895, APS Online; *Epworth Era*, Oct. 31, 1895.

125. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 14, 1895; "The Midway at the Atlanta Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 23, 1895.

126. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 24 and Nov. 3, 1895; *[Handbook] to the Cotton [States] and International Exposition: Atlanta, Georgia, Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-five: Being a Faithful Account of What a Representative of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle Saw When He Visited the Fair* (n. p., 1895), 58, Rare Books Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 91. The reasons African Americans performed in such attractions are unclear, but the busking of the "mammy" certainly provides one clue. Jobs, after all, were hard to find in the 1890s, and it is likely that these were professional performers who traveled from fair to fair.

127. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 135. For a perceptive look at the relationship between Old South and New, see James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 67–98.

128. This is one of the arguments Blight makes in *Race and Reunion*.

129. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 20, 1895.

130. *Williams v. Mississippi*, 170 U.S. 213 (1898).

131. Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together,* 147–66; Charles Crowe, "Racial Massacre in Atlanta, September 22, 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969): 150–73; Gregory Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot : Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Rebecca Burns, *Rage in the Gate City: The Story of the 1906 Atlanta Race Riot* (Cincinnati: Emmis Books, 2006). Also see David Fork Godshalk, *Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Shaping of American Race Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). The estimates of the dead range from the twelve (ten blacks and two whites) reported to the coroner to approximately thirty. More than a hundred were injured, and perhaps a thousand African Americans fled the city.

132. Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel, an Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 275, quoted in Bradley R. Rice, "Atlanta:

If Dixie Were Atlanta," in Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice, eds., *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 31.

CHAPTER TWO. Vanishing Indians

1. Supt. and U.S. Indian Agent [Thomas W. Potter] to Charles A. Collier, June 20, 1895, Superintendent's Letterbooks, 1892–1914 (Chronological Correspondence Files), Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency, 1892–1914, Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration, East Point, Ga.

2. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia,* 30 U.S. 1 (1831); *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. 515 (1832).

3. For removal see Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975). For the racial transformation of some Cherokees by an act of the Georgia legislature in 1839, see Sharon P. Flanagan, "The Georgia Cherokees Who Remained: Race, Status, and Property in the Chattahoochee Community," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73 (1989): 584–609.

4. Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights: A Study of the Political History of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War, with Particular Regard to Federal Relations,* Annual Report of the American Historical Association (1901; repr., Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1968), 48, 54, 61, 62–63, 65, 70, 84. For Phillips in the 1890s, see Merton L. Dillon, *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: Historian of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 11–22.

5. The U.S. Census recorded a total of 5,663 Indians in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia in 1890 and 9,559 in 1900. Censuses are notoriously unreliable for recording the Indian population, however, because many people who identified as Indian and lived in Indian communities had non-Indian ancestors. Census takers based racial designations on physical appearance. The disparity in the two population totals stems partly from the failure of census takers in 1890 to record the Indian population in eastern North Carolina. See Calvin L. Beale, "Census Problems

of Racial Enumeration," in Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes, eds., *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), 538–40.

6. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Southeast* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 125–49. By 1895 only Cherokees lived on land to which they had an uncontested title.

7. John R. Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 1819–1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 101–25.

8. Harry A. Kersey Jr., "Those Left Behind: The Seminole Indians of Florida," in Walter L. Williams, ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 174–90; James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 145–64.

9. Rev. Paul Leeds to Secretary of Interior, June 14, 1911, General Service, folder 33956-1908-150, box 436, Central Classified Files, 1907–39, Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Linda Langley, Claude Oubre, and James H. Precht Jr., "Louisa Williams, Her Daughters, and Granddaughters: Recognizing the Contributions of Three Generations of Coushatta Women in Louisiana," in Janet Allured and Judy Gentry, eds., *Louisiana Women: Their Lives and Times* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009).

10. Petition for Federal Recognition Submitted by the Poarch Band of Creeks to the United States Department of Interior, January 10, 1980, 19–30, prepared by Maine Office of Native American Rights Fund, Bureau of Acknowledgement and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C (hereafter BAR); J. Anthony Paredes, "Federal Recognition and the Poarch Creek Indians," in *The Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 120–39.

11. Petition for Recognition of the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe in Compliance with 25 CFR Part 54, 49, prepared by Native American Rights Fund, BAR; Ernest C. Downs, "The Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition," in Williams, *Southeastern Indians*,

72–89; Herbert T. Hoover, *The Chitimacha People* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Indian Tribal Series, 1975).

12. Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); James H Merrell, *The Catawbas* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), and *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); Jonathan B. Hook, *The Alabama-Coushatta Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997).

13. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

14. Robert A. Trennert, "Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893–1904," *American Indian Quarterly* 11 (1987): 203–20.

15. For boarding schools see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

16. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior; Being part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the Fifty-fourth Congress*, vol. 2: *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* H. Doc. 5, 54th Cong., 1st sess. (1895), 17–18.

17. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 8, 1895.

18. Report of the School and Agency at Cherokee, N.C., 5 Sept. 1895, Thomas W. Potter, Supt., in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1895), 388.

19. Ibid.

20. Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated. Including the Official History of the Exposition, by Walter G. Cooper . . . Also Including Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Visitors. Histories of Each of the Cotton States and Various Illustrations of Scenery, etc.* (Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896), 105.

21. The Will of James Smithson, http://www.sil.si.edu/Exhibitions/Smithson-to-Smithsonian/will.htm (March 19, 2007). For other expositions see Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to*

the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley, Calif.: Lowie Museum of Anthropology and Scolar Press, 1983).

22. E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations*, vol. 1 of *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1848), 104–23, 302–3.

23. Cyrus Thomas, "Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology," *Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin Four* (1887): 13.

24. George Brown Goode, *The Smithsonian Institution, 1846–1896* (Washington, D.C.: De Vinne Press, 1897), 373–74.

25. John S. Haller Jr., "Race and the Concept of Progress in Nineteenth-Century American Ethnology," *American Anthropologist* 73 (1971): 710–24; Lee D. Baker, *From Savages to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 11–80; Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 49–61; Robert E. Bieder, "Anthropology and History of the American Indian," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 309–26.

26. W. J. McGhee, "Bureau of American Ethnology," in Goode, *Smithsonian Institution*, 373–74.

27. James Mooney to John Wesley Powell, Sept. 19, 1888, Bureau of American Ethnology Correspondence, Letters Received, 1879–1888, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Md.; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897–98* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 237; Curtis M. Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists : The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 210–13.

28. Patricia R. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), analyzes the provenances of the body of artifacts associated with Osceola. For Osceola's portrait see http://commons

.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osceola.jpg. For a full-length engraving, which probably was the model for the statue, search the National Portrait Gallery's "Quick Search" for Osceola at http://npgportraits.si.edu/emuseumnpg/code/emuseumasp?page=search_basicNPG&profile=NPG.

29. *Atlanta Constitution*, Feb. 8, 1874. Also see Mikaela Adams, "Savage Foes, Noble Warriors, and Frail Remnants: Florida Seminoles in the White Imagination, 1865–1934," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 87 (2009): 404–35.

30. Smithsonian Institution, *The Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, 1895* (Washington, D.C.: N.p., 1895), n.p. The description of the exhibit in the paragraphs that follow comes from this source, which is not paginated.

31. G. Brown Goode to John Wesley Powell, May 4, 1896, folder 1, box 44, series 11: The Cotton States and International Exposition (Atlanta, Ga.), 1894–1896, Record Unit 70: Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. National Museum, 1867–1940, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

32. Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1883–84* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 121–378; James Mooney, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1885–86* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 301–97.

33. For Dinwiddie's Papago and Seri photographs, search the Smithsonian's online catalogue (SIRIS), http://www.siris.si.edu.

34. For Mooney's photographs search SIRIS at http://www.siris.si.edu.

35. Smithsonian Institution, *Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution*, n.p.

36. *New York Times*, May 9 and Oct. 8, 1893.

37. R. Edward Earll to Otis T. Mason, March 7, 1895, folder 1, box 44, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

38. Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth* (Atlanta: Index Printing, 1919), 112–13.

39. Mrs. W. H. [Rebecca Latimer] Felton to Hoke Smith, May 14, 1895, folder 1, box 44, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

40. G. Brown Goode to Hoke Smith, May 18, 1895, folder 1, box 44, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

41. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 8, 1894.

42. Felton to Smith. For the Hiawatha revival see Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha : Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

43. Felton, *Country Life in Georgia*, 228.

44. Felton to Smith.

45. Smithsonian Institution, Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution, n.p. In *Woman in Primitive Society* (New York: D. Appleton, 1894), 2, Otis Tufton Mason points out that these are the defining characteristics of the two periods in the social Darwinist Herbert Spencer's history of civilization.

46. Felton to Smith. The emphasis is Felton's.

47. Smithsonian Institution, *Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution*, n.p.

48. Mason, *Women in Primitive Society*, 4–5, 276.

49. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 28, 1894.

50. Charles Colcock Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes*, ed. Frank T. Schnell (1873; repr., Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999).

51. *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 19, 1895.

52. Ibid., May 25 and Nov. 22, 1895; *Report of the Commissioners Representing the State of New York at the Cotton States and International Exposition Held in Atlanta, Georgia, 1895* (New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1896), 44; *Official Catalogue: Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Ga., U.S.A., Sept. 18 to Dec. 31, 1895, Illustrated* (Atlanta: Cafflin and Mellichamp, 1895), 232; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 78.

53. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1895.

54. Ibid., July 13, 1895.

55. Ibid., March 9, 1895.

56. Sally Hairston Redd to Mrs. Joe Thompson, April 16, 1895, box

3, Rebecca Latimer Felton Papers, 1851–1930, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens; *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1895.

57. G. Brown Goode to Thomas Wilson, Nov. 28, 1895; list of articles purchased from Hurt and Barber by Doctor Goode at Atlanta, n.d.; R. Edward Earll to Brown, Feb. 8, 1896, all in folder 1, box 44, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

58. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1895; Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 91–108.

59. Walter G. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," April 19, folder 1, box 46, series 11, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

60. Ibid.; *Atlanta Constitution*, April 19, May 12, July 27, Aug. 9, and Aug. 13, 1895.

61. *Official Catalogue*, 33; Harry A. Kersey Jr., *The Stranahans of Fort Lauderdale: A Pioneer Family of New River* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 69–70, 76–77.

62. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 22, 1895. The enterprise collapsed after Carter's death in 1909. See Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 82–86; Kate C. Duncan, "American Indian Lace Making," *American Indian Art Magazine* 5 (1980): 28–35, 80.

63. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," March 8 and May 24, 1895; *Atlanta Constitution*, March 31 and May 25, 1895; *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1903; *South McAlester (Indian Territory) Capital*, April 30, 1896. In conversation with Clinton, Chief Perryman was unequivocal about the local response to U.S. policy: "The Indians are against allotment" (*Atlanta Constitution*, March 31, 1895).

64. See David La Vere, *Looting Spiro Mounds: An American King Tut's Tomb* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007). In 1990 Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 25 U.S.C. 3001, which provides some federal protection to antiquities. See http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/.

65. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 28 and Oct. 24, 1895.

66. Ibid., July 28, 1895.

67. Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 239–43.

68. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 14, 1895.

69. Ibid., Oct. 28 and 29, 1895.

70. Ibid., Oct. 25, 28, and 29, 1895; "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World Programme [1895]," MS 6, folder 12, box 1, series 6:A, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.

71. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct 30 and 31, Nov. 1 and 3, 1895; *Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 5 and Nov. 1, 5, and 27.

72. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 19, 1985. The official permission specified "about 20 Indians." See Exhibition of Indians, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, vol. 2: *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, H. Doc. 5, 54th Cong., 1st sess. (1895), 55.

73. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 20, 1895.

74. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 91. Stands-and-Looks-Back was brother-in-law to Jordan and father of Charles Collier's namesake (Henry Hamilton and Jean Tyree Hamilton, *The Sioux of the Rosebud: A History in Pictures* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980], 278).

75. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 15, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 91; Russell Thornton, "A Rosebud Reservation Winter Count, circa 1751–1752 to 1886–1887," *Ethnohistory* 49 (2002): 723–35. To view winter counts, including one from Rosebud, see the Smithsonian's "Lakota Winter Counts: An Online Exhibit." http://wintercounts.si.edu/. "Professor Chittenden" probably was Newton H. Chittenden, explorer of the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, not his more famous contemporary Hiram M. Chittenden, who wrote a guide to Yellowstone Park and a classic history of the fur trade.

76. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 24 and 28, 1895.

77. Ibid., Sept. 19 and 26, 1895; Hamilton and Hamilton, *Sioux of the Rosebud*, 276.

78. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 3, 1895.

79. Ibid., Nov. 25 and 26, 1895.

80. Chauncey Yellow Robe, "The Indian and the Wild West Show," *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 2 (1914): 39–40.

81. L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

82. *New York Times*, October 4, 1895.

83. Exhibition of Indians, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, vol. 2: *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* H. Doc. 1, 52nd Cong., 2nd sess. (1892), 105.

84. Exhibition of Indians, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1895), 55–56.

85. *The Atlanta Exposition and South Illustrated* (Chicago: Adler Art Publishing, 1893), 184.

86. *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 7, 1895.

87. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 8, 1895.

88. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 185–86.

89. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 1, 6, 24, and 25, and Dec. 8, 1895; James W. VanStone, "The Bruce Collection of Eskimo Material Culture for Port Clarence, Alaska," *Fieldiana Anthropology* 67 (1976): 4–5.

90. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 105. He ignored the fact that much "Anglo-Saxon blood" flowed in the veins of southern Indians. See Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); John Sheldon Reed, "The Cherokee Princess in the Family Tree," *Southern Cultures* 3 (1997): 111–13; Larry J. Griffin, "When Heritage Is Hip," *Southern Cultures* 14 (2008): 141–50.

91. John Collier, *From Every Zenith: A Memoir and Some Essays on Life and Thought* (Denver: Sage, 1963), 21.

92. Ibid., 345.

93. Ibid., 376–95.

94. Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan People of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 219–42.

95. Perdue and Green, *Columbia Guide to American Indians*, 136–41.

96. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 10 and Sept. 23, 1934.

97. Speech, Southeastern Fair, Atlanta, Oct. 1, 1934, 2:607, John Collier Papers (Sanford, N.C.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1970), reel 32. Collier's papers are at Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

98. Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

99. John Finger, *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 54–56, 98–117, 161–63; Joyce C. Dugan and D. Lynne Harlan, *The Cherokee* (Cherokee, N.C.: Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, 2002), 36–37.

100. Collier, *From Every Zenith*, 55.

CHAPTER THREE. The Global South

1. Samuel P. Hall to Isaac W. Avery, April 2, 1895, Isaac Wheeler Avery Papers, 1890–1899, Georgia Department of Archives, Morrow.

2. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 24, 1893, May 13, 1894; *Manufacturers Record*, Feb. 9, 1894; *Official Guide to the Cotton States and International Exposition* (Atlanta: Franklin Printing, 1895), 23–24; *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1895.

3. Though not comprehensive, one of the largest collections of publications from fairs is at the Smithsonian Institution. The guide gives some indication of major expositions: *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834–1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1992). Many exposition publications have been microfilmed and may be found in *Books of the Fairs* (174 reels, Woodbridge, Conn.: Research Publications, 1989–90).

4. "The Cotton States and International Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 19, 1995; *Official Catalogue: Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Ga., U.S.A., Sept 18 to Dec. 31, 1895, Illustrated* (Atlanta: Cafflin and Mellichamp, 1895), 9.

5. For examples of letters see J. W. Northen, governor of Georgia, to presidents of the Argentine Republic, the United States of Brazil, the United States of Venezuela, the Republic of Paraguay, and the Republic of Uruguay, Sept. 24, 1894, and C. A. Collier to railroads and other transportation companies, Sept. 5, 1894, Avery Papers; *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept.

24, 1894; Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated. Including the Official History of the Exposition, by Walter G. Cooper . . . Also Including Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Visitors. Histories of Each of the Cotton States and Various Illustrations of Scenery, etc.* (Atlanta: Illustrator, 1896), 29. Charles A. Collier, president of the exposition, allowed Avery three dollars a day in travel expenses and a salary of $125 a month. See The Cotton States and International Ex. Co. by C. A. Collier, Sept. 25, 1894, Avery Papers.

6. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 11, 1894. For information about Raoul, see the finding aid to the William Greene Raoul Papers, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta.

7. *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 21, 1894.

8. Twenty-sixth Annual Session, Georgia Press Association, May 7, 1894, William Arnold Hemphill Collection, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 21, 1894. Expositions were part of President Díaz's modernizing campaign, but by the mid-1890s the expense of exhibits was causing Mexico to scale back participation. See Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

9. P. Ezequiel Rojas to the president of the International Exposition [Charles A. Collier], Sept. 25, 1894, Avery Papers.

10. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 8, 1894.

11. Ibid., July 23, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 50; C. A. Collier to Avery, March 15, 1895, Avery Papers.

12. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 49–50; *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 26 and Dec. 25, 1895; Jasper L. Harben to Avery, Nov. 21, 1895, and F. W. Maywald to David T. Day, Sept. 8, 1895, Avery Papers. As of mid-September Chile had not made an appropriation to send an exhibit, and Mexico's exhibit did not arrive until late October.

13. C. A. Collier to Avery, March 15, 1895, Avery Papers.

14. Henry D. Wolfe to Avery, Aug. 7, 1895, Avery Papers.

15. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 6, 1895.

16. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 113–14; *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 24, 1895.

17. *New York Times*, Sept. 10, 1894; *Mexican Herald*, Oct. 6, 1895.

18. Edward H. Strobel to Avery, June 8, 1895, and Avery to Porfirio Díaz, April 25, 1895, Avery Papers.

19. Avery to L. L. Jackson, March 14, 1895, Avery Papers.

20. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 9, 1894.

21. Cooper, *Cotton States,* 49–50; Avery to Charles A. Collier and the directors, June 1, 1895, Avery Papers.

22. T. H. Martin to Avery, Feb. 4, 1895, Avery papers. Going from the United States to Vera Cruz, of course, required a sea voyage. A few months before railroad tracks reached Laredo, the Central Railway completed a line to El Paso, but the Mexican National Railway was the primary link to the South and East. See W. Dirk Raat, *Mexico and the United States: Ambivalent Vistas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 87–89.

23. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 16, 1894, and Dec. 22, 1895.

24. Edward Strobel to Avery, June 17, 1895; Estado Miranda, Junta de lo Relativo a la Exposition International de Atlanta, Villa de Cura, Aug. 30, 1895; Luis Forsyth to Avery, Sept. 6, 1895, all in Avery Papers.

25. Boulton, Bliss and Dallett to Avery, Aug. 15, 1895; D. G. Purse to Avery, Aug. 31, 1895; Harry F. Dunwoody to Walter Wyman, Sept. 12, 1895; Boulton, Bliss and Dallett to Avery, Sept. 30, 1895, all in Avery Papers; *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 15, 1895.

26. *Florida Times Union*, quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*, May 13, 1894.

27. Richard Gambino, *Vendetta: A True Story of the Worst Lynching in America, the Mass Murder of Italian-Americans in New Orleans in 1891, the Vicious Motivations Behind It, and the Tragic Repercussions That Linger to This Day* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).

28. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 9, 1894, and Jan. 5 and Nov. 24, 1895.

29. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 107.

30. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 18, 1895.

31. Ibid., June 7, 1895.

32. See Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

33. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 6; Sept. 5, 13, and 14; and Oct. 9, 1895.

34. Ibid., March 24, 1894; Sept. 15 and 20 and Oct. 6, 9, and 13, 1895; Catherine Brown and Thomas Ganschow, "The Augusta, Georgia Chinese," in Jonathan Goldstein, ed., *Georgia's East Asian Connection: 1733–1983* (Carrollton: West Georgia College, 1983), 27–42; George Anthony Peffer, "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875–1882," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 6 (1986): 28–46; Peggy Pascoe, "Gender Systems in Conflict: The Marriages of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874–1939," *Journal of Social History* 22 (1989): 631–52. The 1890 census recorded 108 Chinese, including three women, but in 1894 more than two hundred Chinese, including just two women, registered with the Treasury Department under the provisions of the 1892 law. Most owned laundries or grocery stores.

35. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 23, 25, and 26, and Dec. 22, 1895.

36. Kee Owyang, "Chinese Immigration," in Philip Davis and Bertha Schwartz, eds., *Immigration and Americanization: Selected Readings* (Boston: Ginn, 1920), 200–3.

37. Bess Beatty, "The Expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro: A Case Study of Sinophobia in Georgia, in 1883" in Goldstein, *Georgia's East Asian Connection*, 43–50; Jianli Zhao, *Strangers in the City: The Atlanta Chinese, Their Community, and Stories of Their Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 34–42.

38. Pascoe, "Gender Systems in Conflict," 635; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 5 (1979): 3–29; Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-century San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

39. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 16, 26, and 30, and Nov. 22, 1895.

40. Ibid., Oct. 16 and 30, and Nov. 22, 1895.

41. Ibid., Oct. 6 and Nov. 22, 1895.

42. Ibid., July 23, Oct. 16, and Nov. 22, 1895; *Official Guide*, 82–85; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 77–78, 86; Walter G. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," July 26, 1895, folder 1, box 46, series 11: The Cotton States and International Exposition (Atlanta, Ga.), 1894–1896, Record Unit 70:

Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. National Museum, 1867–1940, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

43. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 22, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 86.

44. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 7, 10, and 14, 1895.

45. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 86; Avery to D. C. Gilman, Dec. 12, 1895, Avery Papers.

46. Louis A. Perez Jr., *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 149–55; Louis A. Perez, *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

47. Walter LaFeber, *The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3–46; David G. McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870–1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

48. Perez, *Cuba*, 143–49, 156–88; U.S. Navy, "USS Maine," http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/ships/battleships/maine/maine.html (July 28, 2008).

49. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 19 and 24, 1895.

50. Ibid., Oct. 3 and Nov. 5, 1895.

51. Ibid., Oct. 13 and Nov. 3, 1895.

52. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1895.

53. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 109–111; *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 1, 1895; *(New York) Patria*, Nov. 6, 1895. Rumors flew that the Cleveland administration policy was responsible for the ultimate cancellation of Cuba Day, but officials denied it.

54. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 6, 1895.

55. Ibid., Dec. 10, 1895.

56. Ibid., Sept. 11, 1895.

57. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1895.

58. Ibid., Sept. 11, 1895. A. L. Cuesta actually favored annexation (*Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 6, 1895).

59. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 22 and 24, 1895.

60. Roscoe R. Hill, "The Nicaraguan Canal Idea to 1913," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 28 (1948): 197–211.

61. *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 9, 15, and 17, 1895.

62. *Nicaragua Canal: Message for the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Board of Engineers Ascertaining the Feasibility, Permanence and Cost of Construction and Completion of the Nicaragua Canal by the Route Contemplated and Provided for by the Act Which Passed the Senate January 28, 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896); *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov. 26, 1895.

63. *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 1, 1895.

64. Ibid., Dec. 2, 1895.

65. Ibid., Dec. 10, 1895.

66. Tennant S. McWilliams, *The New South Faces the World: Foreign Affairs and the Southern Sense of Self* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 16–46.

67. Christopher Lasch, "The Anti-Imperialists, the Philippines, and the Inequality of Man," *Journal of Southern History* 24 (1958): 324–25.

68. This is the thesis of Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

69. Smithsonian Institution, *The Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, 1895* (Washington, D.C., 1895), n.p.

70. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 6, 1895.

71. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 90.

72. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," Sept. 6, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 89–91; *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 1, 1895.

73. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 2, 1895; Cooper, "Exposition Notes," April 19, 1895.

74. See Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 333–494.

75. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 17, 1895; *Handbook to the Cotton [States] and International Exposition: Atlanta, Georgia, Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-five: Being a Faithful Account of What a Representative of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle Saw When He Visited the Fair* (n.p., 1895), 11, Rare Books Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

76. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 90–91; *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 23, 1895; *New York Observer and Chronicle,* June 27, 1895, American Periodical Series Online.

77. *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1895.

78. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 19, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States,* 40.

79. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," April 12, 1895; Sanborn Map Company, *Piedmont Park, Cotton States International Exposition Co., Atlanta, Ga.*, University of Georgia Libraries Map Collection, Athens, available at http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/meta/html/dlg/sanb/meta_dlg_sanb_atlanta_1895.html?Welcome.

80. Cooper, "Exposition Notes," July 5, 1895; *Atlanta Constitution*, June 29; July 20, 27, and 28; Aug. 17 and 21, 1895; *Our Animal Friends: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 23 (1895–96): 26–29, 193.

81. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 4, 5, and 7, and Nov. 2, 1895.

82. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1895.

83. *Our Animal Friends*, 27.

84. César Graña, "The Bullfight and Spanish National Decadence," in *Meaning and Authenticity: Further Essays on the Sociology of Art* (Edison, N.J.: Transaction, 1989), 127–38; Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 44–85; Jürgen Buchenau, *Mexico Otherwise: Modern Mexico in the Eyes of Foreign Observers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 91–142.

85. Garry Marvin, *Bullfight* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 143–65. A few women took up bullfighting at the end of the twentieth century.

86. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 2, 1895.

87. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

88. The classic analysis is Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1994). Also see Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Eric Davis, "Representations of the Middle East at American World Fairs, 1876–1904," in Abbas Amanat and Magnus T. Bernhardsson, eds., *The United*

States and the Middle East: Cultural Encounters (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 2002), 342–81.

89. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 15, 1895.

90. "Bloomers," which had been part of the antebellum dress reform movement, enjoyed a comeback in the 1890s and linked women's rights to the sexuality associated with similarly attired women in harems. See Marr, *Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, 282–87; Gayle V. Fischer, "'Pantalets' and 'Turkish Trowsers': Designing Freedom in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States," *Feminist Studies* 23 (1997): 110–40; Virginia Keft-Kennedy, "Belly Dancing and the Horror of the Flexible Woman," *Women's Studies* 34 (2005): 279–300.

91. *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 23, 1895.

92. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 28, 1895; "Carmencita," Thomas A. Edison, Inc., W. K. L. Dixon, producer, 1894. To see "Carmencita" search the Library of Congress American Memory pages at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html.

93. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 29 and Oct. 24, 1895; Cooper, *Cotton States*, 42.

94. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 26, 1895.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., Sept. 18 and Dec. 8, 1895.

97. Ibid., March 13, 1890, and Aug. 13, 1893; Stanley B. Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

98. *Atlanta Constitution*, Sept. 28, 1895.

99. Robert W. Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World Fairs, 1893–1940," in Bernth Lindfors, ed., *Africans On Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 135–55; Christopher Robert Reed, "*All the World Is Here!" The Black Presence at White City* (Indiana University Press, 2002), 143–71.

100. "A News Item in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*," *Washington Papers*, 4:41–42. Turner accused the concessionaire of fraud: "These wild negro cannibals you have here, never saw Africa." He claimed that the performers were "lazy, good-for-nothing negroes from New York, or some other town." That accusation is probably unfounded since

X. Pene, representing a company from the French colony, negotiated a concession in which he agreed to furnish forty-five Dahomeyans for the exposition, according to the *Atlanta Constitution* (Feb. 7, 1895).

101. *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 5 and 7, and Dec. 22, 1895.

102. Ibid., Sept. 23, 1895.

103. Rydell, "Darkest Africa," 145; *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 13, 1893.

104. Robert D. Atkinson and Scott Andes, "The 2008 State New Economy Index: Benchmarking Economic Transformation in the States," November 2008, 26–28, report for the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, http://www.kauffman.org/uploadedfiles/2008_state_new_economy_index_120908.pdf. Thanks to Jim Cobb for directing me to this report.

INDEX

Africa, 24, 36–37, 103, 133, 135; congress on, 43–45; Dahomey, 133–34; emigration to, 44, 147n28; Tanzania, 133. *See also* Egypt
African Americans, 3, 15, 19, 24, 38; churches of, 9–10, 15, 36, 43; education of, 10, 13, 34–36; occupations of, 10, 43, 152n103, 154n126; as soldiers, 27, 42–43. *See also* disfranchisement; lynching; Negro Building; segregation
African Methodist Episcopal Church, 15, 135; Big Bethel, 35, 45
agriculture, 34–35, 40–41, 70
Alabama-Coushattas, 55–56
Alaska, 88–89
alcohol, 30, 45, 123, 125
American Association of Educators of Colored Youth, 43
American Colonization Society, 44
American Historical Association, 3, 54
American Humane Society of New York, 12
American Indians, 4, 5, 118, 125; languages of, 55, 61, 65, 88; removal of, 54, 68–69, 71, 75, 90, 92; schools of, 53, 57–59; United States policy for, 53–57, 77–78. *See also specific tribes*
American Revolution, 62–63, 118
American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 126, 129
Apaches, 75, 92
archaeology, 59, 64, 73, 75, 79, 161n64
Argentina, 102–3, 110, 113–15
arson, 136
Artmarhoke (Inuit), 88
Asia, 98. *See also* China; Japan
Atkinson, W. Y., 43
Atlanta, xiv, 8–9, 32, 52, 66, 78, 88–89, 91, 101; African Americans in, 9–11; Chinese in, 107–9; race riot in, 51–52; and trade, 97, 103–4
Atlanta Baptist Seminary, 10, 15
Atlanta Constitution: and Africa, 133–34; and African Americans, 11, 48, 50, 51; and Chinese, 110; and Cotton States Exposition, 15, 21, 23, 26, 30, 79–80, 102; on Cuba, 116–18; and immigration, 121; and Indians, 62–63,

Atlanta Constitution (cont'd) 80–81, 83, 85, 87; and Japanese, 124; on lynching, 14, 51; on morality, 130–33; on trade, 95, 118
Atlanta University, 10, 32
Auburn University, 9, 145n5
Austria, 100, 112, 114
Avery, Isaac W., 96, 98–99, 101, 102, 113, 120, 137
awards, 65, 76–77, 112–15, 119

Bacon, Alice M., 40–41
Bailey, Leonard C., 38
Baker, Johnnie, 81
Baldwin, Richard Henry, Jr., 27
Ballou, William Hosea, 126–27
Baltimore, 82–83, 97, 103
Banderas, Quintin, 117
Banjo Lesson, The (Tanner), 38
Baptist Center for Wayward Youth, 15
Bayon (matador), 127
Belgium, 112, 114
Benin, People's Republic of (Dahomey), 133–34
Bethel Literary and Historical Society, 29
Black Phalanx, The (Wilson), 39
Black Side, The (E. R. Carter), 15
Blight, David W., 12
Blyden, Edward, W., 43–44
Boas, Franz, 70
Bowen, J. W. E., 33–34
British Anti-lynching Committee, 101
Brooks, Preston, 40
Brown, John, 46–47
Browne, W. W., 37
Brown v. Board of Education, xiii–xiv, 13
Bruce, John E., 25–26
Bruce, Miner W., 88–89
Brunswick, Ga., 103, 104
Bryan, William Jennings, 11
Buenos Aires, 102
Buffalo Bill, 1, 80, 82–83, 86
Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders, 1, 79–83, 94, 123, 125
bullfighting, 125–29
Bullock, Rufus, 7–8, 9
Bureau of American Ethnology, 60–61, 65–69, 93
Bureau of Indian Affairs. *See* Office of Indian Affairs
Burke, John M., 81
Butler, Andrew, 40
Butler, Selena Sloan, 45–46

Canada, 106, 112, 114
canal, 115, 118–21
cannibalism, 70, 135, 171n100
Carey, John, 118
Carlisle Indian School, 57, 86
Carmencita, 130–31
Carter, Edward Randolph, 15
Carter, Sybil, 77
Catawbas, 55, 56, 74

Catlin, George, 62
Cherokees, 53–55, 57–58, 61, 65, 67–69, 92–94
Chicago, 38, 97. *See also* Columbian Exposition
Chickasaw Asphalt Company, 77–78
Chickasaws, 55, 77–78
Chile, 100, 102, 103, 111, 112, 114, 121
China, 65, 100, 112, 114, 120, 124, 136
Chinese Exclusion Acts, 106, 109
Chinese Village, 1, 106–10, 123
Chippewas, 69, 75, 76–77
Chitimachas, 55, 56
Chittenden, Newton H., 84
Civil Rights Act (1875), 12
Civil War, 39, 50, 62–63, 65, 71, 80, 101, 118
Clark College, 10, 32
Cleveland, Grover, 18, 28, 42, 49–50, 99, 116
Cleveland Gazette, 20
Clinton, Lee, 77–78
Cody, William F. *See* Buffalo Bill
Collier, Charles A., 7, 22, 26, 32, 53, 90, 91, 100, 108, 113
Collier, John, 91–94
Colored Knights of Labor, 36
Colored Young Men's Christian Association, 43
Columbian Exposition, 1, 2, 3, 65; and American Indians, 69, 79, 88; and Buffalo Bill, 79; and Chinese, 106, 129; and integration, 15, 18–20; and Streets of Cairo, 129–30; and women, 70
Comcáac (Seris), 65–67
convict leasing, 23, 47
"coon" songs, 13, 50
Cooper, Walter G., 24–25, 101
Copeland, F. W., 74
Costa Rica, 100, 110, 112, 114, 115, 120–21
Coushattas, 56
Crazy Bull, 82–83
Creeks, 54, 56, 75, 77–78, 90
Crows, 69
Crumbly, Floyd H., 27, 37
Cuba, 4, 115–18
Cuesta, A. L., 117–18
Curaçao, 112
Custer, George Armstrong, 80, 85

Dabney, Charles W., 24
Dahomey, 133–34
Dahomey Village, 1, 23, 133–37
dance: American Indian, 84–85; Middle Eastern, 129–33
Darwinism. *See* evolution
Davis, D. Webster, 32
Democratic Party, 9, 11, 25
De Soto, Hernando, 75–76
Díaz, Porfirio, 99, 101, 102, 118; wife of, 99
Dinwiddie, William, 67
disfranchisement, 1, 11–12, 29, 33, 51, 147n24
Dominguez, Zeferino, 127–28

Douglass, Frederick, 19, 34
Du Bois, W. E. B., 28, 29, 34, 144n1
Dyer, Daniel B., 73

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. *See* Cherokees
East Point, Ga., 13–14
Eatonville, Fla., 38
Egypt, 64, 112, 114, 130; Streets of Cairo, 123, 129–30
England, 97, 100, 101, 112, 114
Episcopalians, 76–77
Epworth Era, 47–48
Eskimos (Inuits), 88–89
essentialism, 122–23
ethnographic villages, 83–90, 105, 123–37
Europe, 64, 98, 100, 111
evolution: biological, 24–25; social, 13, 60, 64–65, 70, 79, 160n45
exhibits, 35–41, 58–79, 105, 110–13
expositions, 1, 18, 83, 98, 100–101, 130, 135, 143n1. *See also* Columbian Exposition

Fatima (dancer), 136
Felton, Rebecca Latimer, 14, 70–72
Fisk University, 35
Flagler, Henry, 76
Fleetwood, Christian A., 42–43
Florence, S.C., 37
Florida, 38, 41, 55, 57, 62–63, 76, 90, 104, 127, 138
football, 9, 145n5
Fort Marion, 57
Fort Moultrie, 62–63
France, 100, 112–14, 119–20
Francis, John R., 36
Freedmen's Bureau, 10
Friendship Baptist Church, 15
Fujisawa, M., 123–24
Fulton County, 10, 23
Furman, McDonald, 74

Gaines, Wesley J., 15–16, 19, 39
Gammon Theological Seminary, 10, 33, 35–36, 43
Garrison, William Lloyd, 40
Georgia: Chinese in, 107, 167n34; economy of, 138; exhibits of, 38; history of, 54–55, 75, 90; immigrants to, 105; legislature of, 10–11, 131–32; lynchings in, 13–14
Georgia and States Rights (Phillips), 54–55
Georgia Press Association, 99, 112
Georgia School of Technology, 9
German Village, 123
Germany, 112, 114
Gilbert, Bradford L., 23
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 113
Girls Normal and Industrial College, 89
Government Building, 57, 70, 124
Grady, Henry, 2, 7
Grand Army of the Republic, 80
Grant, Abraham, 16
Gray, Amanda, 45

Grimké, Angelina, 40
Grimké, Archibald, 40
Grimké, Henry, 40
Grimké, Sarah, 40
Gutierrez, Carlos Díaz, 101, 103

Hagler, H. A., 30
Hall, Samuel P., 96, 101, 102, 137
Hampton Folklore Society, 40
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 35, 57
Harris, Joel Chandler, 76
Havana, 97, 103, 116
Hayes, Rutherford B., 12
Healy, Michael A., 88–89
Hearst, William Randolph, 116
Hemphill, W. A., 99, 120; wife of, 99
Hennessey, David, 104–5
Herbert, Victor, 7
Herndon, Adrienne, 32, 150n80
Hiawatha, 71
Hill, Robert W., 78
Holland, 113–14
Hong Kong, 106, 108
Hooks, Julia Britton, 39
Houmas, 92
Howard University, 25, 35, 45
Howell, Albert, 7

immigrants, 50, 104–5; Chinese Exclusion Acts, 106, 109; nativism, 4, 50, 104–9
imperialism: European, 43–44; U.S., 115–22, 137
Indian Lace Association, 76–77
Indian Reorganization Act, 91–92
Indians. *See* American Indians; *and specific tribes*
Indian Territory, 69, 77–79, 92
Indian Village, 83–86, 123
industrial manufacturing, 41–42, 73, 77, 97–98, 118–20
Inman, Hugh, 118
Inman, Samuel, 15, 32
Inuits, 88–89
Italians, 104–5
Italy, 100, 111–14

Jackson, Sheldon, 88–89
Jacksonville, Fla., 103–4
Jacques, W. O., 38
Japan, 65, 97, 100, 120
Japanese Village, 123
Jefferson, Thomas, 65
Jivaro, 63–64
Johnson, J. F., 25
Johnson, Richard, 74
Johnson, William Henry, 40
Jones, Charles Colcock, 73
Jordan, Charles P., 83–84, 87, 162n74

Kasson, Joy S., 80
Kaufman Foundation, 138
Kawkab Amerika, 41
Kee Owyang, 106, 108–9, 122
Kentucky, 134, 138
Kentucky Gazette, 39
Kerlunger (Inuit), 89
King, J. T., 23, 149n50
Kiowas, 69

labor, 22–23, 36, 104, 106–7
Langston, John Mercer, 25
languages: American Indian, 55, 61, 65, 88; European, 102–3
Latin America, 64, 96–104, 111–16, 121
Leong Lam, 108
Lewis, Edmonia, 40
Liberia, 43–44
Liberty Bell, 127
Little Big Horn, Battle of the, 84–85
Little Wound (Sioux), 84
Livingstone, 133
Louisiana, 55, 92, 99, 138
Lumbees, 92
Lum Ling, 107–10
lynching, 13–14, 46–48, 51, 74, 80, 101, 104–5, 109

Macchi, Antonio, 110, 111, 113
Maceo, José, 115–16
Majors, Monroe A., 39
Martí, José, 115–16
Mason, Otis T., 71–72
Mattaponis, 56
Mays, Benjamin, 52
McIntosh, Chilly, 75
McIntosh, William, 75
medals. *See* awards
Meiji Restoration, 124
Memphis, 39
Mexican Herald, 28, 31, 101
Mexican National Railroad, 99, 103, 128
Mexican Village, 87–88, 123, 125, 136
Mexico, 64, 66, 87–88, 97–100, 103, 111–15, 125, 128
Midway Heights, 48, 84–89, 105–10, 123–37
Miles, Nelson A., 80, 82
Minnesota, 76
minstrel shows, 13, 48–49
miscegenation, 46–47, 55, 74, 163n90
Mississippi, 11, 55
Mobile, Ala., 80, 82
Monroe Doctrine, 120
Mooney, James, 61, 66–69
Morehouse College, 10
Morgan, John T., 120
Morris Brown College, 10, 32
Moses, George, 86
Murray, George W., 17

National Afro-American Press Association, 30, 43
National Association of Manufacturers, 131
National Negro Congress, 42–43
Native Americans. *See* American Indians; *and specific tribes*
nativism, 4, 50, 104–9
Navajo, 69, 75, 92
Negro Building: congresses at, 42–48; Congressional mandate for, 17–18; construction of, 20–25; exhibits in, 24–25, 35–42, 45, 135; opening of, 32–34

Negro Day, 32, 45
Nelson, Cleland K., 7
Netherlands (Holland), 113–14
New Orleans, 18, 103, 104–5
Newport News, Va., 106, 116
New York City, 97, 103–4, 107
New York Freeman, 12
New York Outlook, 42
Nicaragua, 118–22; canal, 115, 118–21
North Carolina, 18, 41, 53, 55, 68, 90, 92, 138
Noted Negro Women (Majors), 39

Oakley, Annie, 81
Office of Indian Affairs, 56, 61, 73, 86–87, 89, 94
Oklahoma, 79, 92
Old Plantation, 48–50, 123
orientalism, 130
Osceola, 62–63

Page, Mrs. Hugh Nelson, 74
Pamunkeys, 56
Panama, 103, 119–20
Panic of 1893, 9, 96, 154n126
Papagos, 65–66
Paraguay, 112
Pasteur Institute, 112
Patton, Georgia, 37
Penn, I. Garland, 19, 22, 24–27, 30–32, 42
Pensacola, Fla., 21, 36, 103
People's Advocate, 30
Perryman, L. C., 77
Peru, 63–64, 76, 121
Philadelphia Enquirer, 119
Philippines, 4
Phillips, Ulrich B., 54–55
Pickett, George, 80
Piedmont Driving Club, 139
Piedmont Park, xiv, 9
Piedmont Park Exposition Company, 139
Plessy v. Ferguson, 13, 51
Pocola Mining Company, 79
Pogosky, A. L., 112
population, 3, 9, 107, 155n5, 167n34
Populists, 9, 11
Porteous, James P., 125
Porter, Pleasant, 78
Powhatan, 74
Pratt, Richard Henry, 57
Presbyterians, 78
Prince Rupert Sound, 69–70
prostitution, 108, 110
Pueblo Indians, 91, 92
Pulies, L. W., 29, 46
Pulitzer, Joseph, 116

Racial Integrity Law, 90–91
railroads, 9, 97, 99, 103, 166n22. *See also* segregation: of railcars
Raoul, William Green, 99
rape, 46–47
Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition, The (Wells et. al.), 19, 22, 23
Reconstruction, 9, 10, 28, 117

Redd, Sally Hairston, 74
Red D Steamship Line, 104
removal. *See* American Indians: removal of
Republican Party, 9, 11, 23–24
Reynolds, Humphrey H., 38
Richmond, Va. 37, 80
Richmond Religious Herald, 42
Richmond Times, 24
Rio de Janeiro, 100, 103
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 91
Rosebud Reservation, 83–86
Royce, Charles C., 66
Russia, 112, 114
Rydell, Robert, 5

Safford, W. E., 64
San Francisco, 107–8
Savannah, 103, 104, 107
Savannah Board of Trade, 104
Savannah Tribune, 28, 31, 34
segregation: of African Americans, xiii–xiv, 1, 11–12, 20–21, 41–42, 51; at Cotton States Exposition, 30–31; of exhibits, 18–20; of Indians, 92–94; of Japanese, 125; of railcars, 12, 21, 22, 31, 47, 148n48
Seminoles, 56, 62–63, 76, 90, 92–93
Seminole War, 62–63, 81, 90
Seris, 65–67
sexuality, 129–33
Shawnees, 74
Sherman, William Tecumseh, 9, 48, 71
Sickel, Emma, 69
Sino-Japanese War, 100, 124–25
Sioux, 69, 82–87
slavery, 2, 24, 39, 43, 50, 51, 107–8, 135
Smith, Hoke, 70
Smith, John, 74
Smith, J. W., 23
Smithsonian, 1, 24–25, 59–73, 89–90, 94, 122, 124
Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 59
Smyth, John H., 44
South Carolina, 17, 55, 62, 74
South Carolina Banking Association, 37
South Dakota, 83
Southeastern Fair, 91–92
Southern Workman, 42
Souza, John Philip, 76
Spain, 112, 114, 115–16, 118
Spanish American War, 1, 4, 116, 137
Speer, Emory, 58, 90, 105
Spellman College, 10, 32, 36
Spiro Mounds, 79
Springer, William M., 78
Stands-and-Looks-Back, 84, 162n74
Stanley, Henry Morton, 133
Stanton, Frank, 7

Steele, Carrie, 36
Steele, S. A., 47–48
Stevenson, Adlai, 116
Stewart, T. McCants, 12
Stranahan, Frank, 76
Streets of Cairo, 123, 129–33
Sumner, Charles, 40
Sweden, 112, 114
Swimmer (Cherokee), 61, 68
Switzerland, 112, 114

Tampico, 103
Tanner, Henry O., 38
Tanzania, 133
Taos, 91
tariffs, 97, 118
Tecumseh, 73–74
Tehuantepec, 87–88
Teller Reindeer Station, 88
temperance, 30, 43, 45–46
Tennessee, 74, 75, 138
Texas, 56, 138
Thirkield, W. P., 43
Thompson, Emma, 7
Thompson, Joseph, 78
Thompson, Wiley, 62
Thurman, Lucy, 45
Tiburon Island, 66
Tillman, Ben, 50, 122
Tippecanoe, Battle of, 74
Tohono O'odham (Papagos), 65–66
tourism, 76, 93–94
trade, 96–99, 103, 118–21
Trail of Tears. *See* American Indians: removal of
transportation, 103–4. *See also* railroads
Treaty of Fort Jackson, 56
True Reformers Bank, 37
Tunica-Biloxis, 56
Turkey, 112, 114
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 3
Turner, Henry M., 14, 36–37, 41, 42, 44–45, 135–36
Tuskegee, Ala., 14
Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 10, 35, 39, 58
Two Strike, 84–85

Union Signal, 46
University of Georgia, 9, 54, 145n5
University of Pennsylvania Museum, 64
U.S. census. *See* population
U.S. Congress, 10, 16–18, 25, 55, 60, 70, 97, 105, 106–7, 119
U.S. Department of State, 98, 100, 119
U.S. Department of the Treasury, 105–7
U.S. Patent Office, 38
USS Maine, 116
U.S. Supreme Court, xii, 1, 12–13, 51, 54

Vancouver Island, 65
Venezuela, 99, 100, 103, 111, 114–15

Vera Cruz, 103
Vesey, Denmark, 40
Virginia, 25, 37, 38, 56, 96; Racial Integrity Law, 90–91

Waco, Tex., 2
Washington, Booker T., 14, 21, 32, 147n24; before Congress, 16; reaction to speech of, 28–30; speech of, 1, 3, 7–8, 26–28, 105; and Tuskegee Institute, 10, 22, 58
Washington, D.C., 18, 29, 35, 36, 37, 45
Washington Bee, 21, 29, 46–47
Watchman, 20
Weihaiwei, Battle of, 124
Wells, Ida B., 19, 29
West Indies, 112, 114
White Earth Chippewa Reservation, 76–77
Wilberforce University, 15
wild west shows, 86–87. *See also* Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders
Williams v. Mississippi, 51
Wilson, Joseph T., 39
winter counts, 84, 162n75
Woman's Building, 14, 32, 39, 45, 70–71, 73–74, 112
Woman's Era, 42
Woman's Share in Primitive Culture (Mason), 71–72
women: African, 133–37; African American, 39, 45–48, 132–33; Chinese, 107–10, 129, 132–33; Mexican, 99; Middle Eastern, 129–33, 136; Native American, 70–72, 81, 87, 171n90
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 45–47, 126–27
Woods, Granville T., 38
Worcester v. Georgia, 54
Wounded Knee, 1, 82, 83–84

Yellow Robe (Sioux), 85–86
Yellow Robe, Chauncey, 86
Young Harris Institute, 77

Zacks-Riner (Inuit), 88–89
Zapotec, 87